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Under the oaks

William Stocking

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

[STATUE BY AUGUSTUS SAINT GAUDENS, IN LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO. BY PERMISSION OF THE CENTURY COMPANY. COPYRIGHT, 1887.]

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UNDER THE OAKS

COMMEMORATING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AT JACKSON, MICHIGAN, JULY 6, 1854; COMPRISING A HISTORY OF THE PARTY IN MICHIGAN; THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, AND PORTRAITS OF LEADING MICHIGAN REPUBLICANS

EDITED BY
WILLIAM STOCKING

DETROIT, MICHIGAN:
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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

Nothing could have been more appropriate than that Michigan should observe, in an elaborate manner, the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Republican party. For it was in this state, under the oaks of Jackson, that the first Republican state convention was held, and here that form was first given to the rising sentiment in the north against the further extension of slavery. From that day to this, Michigan Republicans have been leaders in those movements which have made the record of the party a glorious one.

Although the first Republican state convention was not held until July 6, 1854, the movement which made it possible commenced some months earlier. There were many Free Soilers and Whigs who disliked to break their old party attachments, and it required great tact and the exercise of the highest patriotism to bring them together.

The convention when it did meet, was a most notable gathering. A single one of the committees had among its seven members two who were afterwards governors of the state, and two who were United States senators. Altogether in its recorded membership, there were six who were afterwards governor of the state, four United States senators, two supreme court justices, about twenty congressmen and many others who were prominent in other walks of public life.

In the fifty years that have passed since then, the party thus formed has had every United States senator from Michigan, has elected its candidates for governor with two exceptions, and has controlled every legislature save one. Its history is the history of the state. It has encouraged by wise legislation the development of the immense material resources of Michigan. It has promoted education. It has been liberal and advanced in its penal laws and institutions, and it has created and fostered eleemosynary institutions that are famous throughout the country.

The history of these achievements it has been the purpose of the publishers to set forth in succinct form. For this work they have been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Wm. Stocking, whose previous writings fairly entitle him to be styled the "Historian of the Republican Party of Michigan." The account of the fiftieth anniversary exercises, July 6, 1904, was furnished by the Publication Committee of the General Committee which had charge of the proceedings, and the whole has been accepted by the General Committee as the official history and record.

The text is supplemented by many portraits of men who have taken up the party work, and brought it down to the present day. In fact the portraiture will be to many the most valuable feature of the work, showing the lineaments of the representative men who are prominently before the people.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

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CHAPTER I.

AGGRESSIONS OF THE SLAVE POWER.

Causes of the Early and Growing Anti-Slavery Sentiment in Michigan—History of the Wilmot Proviso—its Acceptance by the Barnburners of New York and Its Intimate Relation to Michigan Politics—Leaders and First Successes of the Free Democracy—The Mischievous Compromises of 1850—Especially Strong Feeling in the North Against the Fugitive Slave Law—Irritating Methods of Its Enforcement—Resistance to It in This State—Underground Railroad Stations—Presidential Campaign of 1852—Concentration of Anti-Slavery Sentiment Against the Compromises.

The Wilmot proviso, the Fugitive Slave Law and the Kansas Nebraska Act, were the three measures which, in succession, gave occasion for the expression of the strong, but sometimes latent, anti-slavery feeling in Michigan, and eventually caused the State to take the leading part in the formation of the Republican party.

Although Michigan sent a full regiment to the Mexican war, yet a majority of its people were not in sympathy with the real purpose of the war, which was to add slave territory to the Union. The offering of the Wilmot Proviso furnished an opportunity for them to express their sentiments through legislative resolution.

In August, 1846, President Polk sent a special message to Congress, saying that the chief obstacle to securing peace with Mexico was the adjustment of a boundary line that would prove satisfactory and convenient to both Republics, and asked that a sum of money might be placed at his disposal to be used, in his discretion. in the adjustment of the terms of peace. The reading of the message was immediately followed by a bill, introduced by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, appropriating two million dollars, to be "applied, under direction of the President, to any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred in our foreign intercourse." In the debate which followed, Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, who had opposed the act under which war was declared against Mexico, said that he should vote for this bill in any form, but thought it should expressly require that the money should be used only for the purpose of negotiating peace with Mexico. The bill was amended in accordance with this suggestion, and seemed likely to pass without much further debate and with but little opposition.

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But some of the Northern members were apprehensive that the money might be used for the acquisition of territory outside of Texas, which had been annexed as a result of the war, and that it was designed that such territory should be open to slavery. It was held by some that there was no occasion for this apprehension. Mexico had, twenty years before this, abolished slavery, and the presumption was that any territory we might acquire from that Republic would retain its free status. But to meet just such a contingency as this, John C. Calhoun had promulgated the doctrine that the United States Constitution carried slavery into all territory from which it was not expressly excluded, a doctrine which, eight years later, was generally accepted by the Democrats in Congress.

Under the apprehension mentioned, a number of Northern Democrats met for consultation, among them Robert McClelland, of Michigan; Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; George Rathbun, Martin Grover and Preston King, of New York; David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; Jacob Brinkerhoff and James J. Faran, of Ohio. As a result of their deliberations a clause was framed to be added to the bill, providing that "as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted."

David Wilmot was among the youngest of those present, was serving his first term in Congress, and was not specially prominent, but the Proviso was entrusted to him for presentation, and he thus had fame thrust upon him. In House Committee of the Whole the Proviso was, on Mr. Wilmot's motion, added to the bill by vote of 80 to 64, only three members from the Free States voting against it. The bill, as amended, was reported to the House and put upon its passage, when Mr. Tibbals, of Kentucky, moved to lay it on the table, and the affirmative votes of the Southerners on this motion showed that they were willing to sacrifice the whole bill rather than accept this Proviso. The motion to table was lost by vote of 93 to 79, and the bill passed with the Proviso by vote of 85 to 80.

Henry Grider, Whig, of Kentucky, was the only member from a Slave State who voted for it. Among the Northern Democrats who were recorded in the affirmative were Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; Preston King, of New York; Allan G. Thurman, of Ohio; Robert McClelland, of Michigan, and John Wentworth, of Illinois. It is a noticeable fact that nearly all of the Democrats who voted for this Proviso afterwards became Republicans. Robert McClelland, subsequently Secretary of the Interior and Governor of Michigan, was one of the few exceptions.

The bill was reported to the Senate toward the end of the session. A motion was made to strike out the Proviso, and in this motion Senator John Davis, of Massachusetts, talked against time until the hour fixed for adjournment left both bill and Proviso still in the air.

The Pro-Slavery leaders of that period lost no opportunity of persuasion or threat to influence weak-kneed and timid Northern Congressmen. These were used

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with such effect in this emergency that at the next session of Congress the appropriation was increased from two million to three million dollars and was passed without the Proviso.

In the next Congress, which commenced its sessions in December, 1847, Harvey Putnam, of New York, offered a resolution which embodied the substance of the Wilmot Proviso, but it was tabled by vote of 105 to 93.

So far as immediate results went, the offering of the Wilmot Proviso was, therefore, a futile movement. But it served to define a comparatively new issue, to draw the line sharply between those who favored and those who opposed the extension of slavery into the territories, and to give instruction to Northern men in respect to the purposes and methods of the Southern leaders. Among the men who then gained their first insight into these purposes and methods was Abraham Lincoln, who represented the Springfield, Ill., district in the Thirtieth Congress, which convened in December, 1847.

The feeling which this controversy aroused in the North found its strongest expression in New York State the next year. In April the "Barnburner" or Anti-Slavery Democratic members of the Legislature issued a declaration of principles, said to have been prepared by Martin Van Buren, John Van Buren and Samuel J. Tilden. It was a ringing document, closing with the following oft-quoted sentences:

We accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us; and to their demand for more slave states and more slave territory, our calm but final answer is: No more Slave States; no more Slave Territory. There must be no more compromises with slavery. If made they must be repealed. We inscribe on our banner, "Free soil, free speech, free labor and free men; and under it we will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

At a State Convention held in Utica in June, 1848, the Barnburners adopted resolutions similar in tone to this proclamation, and issued a call for a National Convention to be held in Buffalo, August 8. The latter substituted the name Free Soil Party in place of the Liberty Party, which had before that represented the anti-slavery organization, and nominated Martin Van Buren for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. In the election which followed the party reached high-water mark in its vote as a separate organization, for Van Buren had 291,263 votes, against 62,300 for James G. Birney in 1844, and 156,149 for John P. Hale in 1852.

All this is especially interesting to Michigan readers on account of the effect which the movement had upon the action and fortunes of Isaac P. Christiancy, the leader of the Free Democracy in this State, and of Kinsley S. Bingham, the first Republican candidate for Governor. Mr. Christiancy, in a paper of reminiscences, prepared more than forty years after this, gave the following account of the mental processes which led him into the Anti-Slavery movement, and the effect which the Van Buren declaration had upon him:

I intensely hated slavery from the first day I learned of its existence, between nine and ten years of age. My parents had before that explained to me the war and

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Declaration of Independence, which I nearly knew by heart, but they had kept back from me the knowledge of the existence of slavery in our Southern States, lest, if I learned it too soon, it would destroy all distinctions in my mind between right and wrong. I remember the terrible shock I felt when I first learned it, and which I never got over. I wondered how a just God could permit such evils to exist. At first, and before I learned the object of the Constitution of the United States, I became a thorough Abolitionist, but by the time I was nineteen I had learned the nature of the Constitutional Compromises, and saw that Congress could not abolish it without the danger of producing greater evils to the Nation, and from that time, though still hating slavery as much as ever, I became simply an Anti-Slavery man, and could not act with the Abolitionists. At the age of twenty I was called upon at Pleasant Valley, N. Y., to deliver a Fourth of July oration. In that oration I attacked slavery with great earnestness, as a moral wrong and a National disgrace. This was before I had ever heard of Garrison or the action of Gerrit Smith. The next year I delivered a Fourth of July oration at the same place, and again attacked slavery. I then removed to Ovid, Seneca county, N. Y., and the year following, 1834, was sent for again to deliver the accustomed Fourth of July oration at Pleasant Valley, which I gave, attacking slavery as before. In 1835 I was the Fourth of July orator at Ovid, on which occasion I omitted slavery in the oration, but gave notice that I would make a speech in the afternoon at the court house on that subject, which I did to a large audience, and an Anti-Slavery society was then and there formed.

This zealous young Anti-Slavery orator moved to Monroe, Mich., in 1836. Three years later, in a Fourth of July oration, he again made slavery the chief topic, declaring his belief that the South intended to bring Texas into the Union to strengthen the Slave States. He voted against Clay in 1844, because, in his Alabama letter, that statesman had declared that he had no objection to the admission of Texas. In 1848 he was a law partner of Robert McClelland, and was agent for General Cass for property in Monroe. He was personally on very friendly terms with the General, but turned against him politically on account of the Nicholson letter, in which Cass accepted the "squatter sovereignty" doctrine. Of his course immediately after that Judge Christiancy said, in his later reminiscences:

Just at this time the contest between the "Hunkers" and "Barnburners" in New York culminated, the former giving their influence in favor of Cass and slavery, and the latter against slavery and its extension. Here occurred the first appearance of light, the first opportunity which promised a hope of success in our efforts against slavery and its extension. I ardently embraced it, and I am bound to say that the pamphlet put forth by the Barnburners of New York, and understood to be the work of Martin Van Buren, was the ablest and most influential pamphlet ever yet issued in the United States. It was truthful, exhaustive and complete. No amount of political or judicial talent could have made it more complete and effectual. It was unanswerable. When that pamphlet appeared, though it was nothing more than my own thoughts more skillfully presented than I could have presented them, yet, coming from a man who, for many years, had been recognized as the most skillful and trusted leader of the Democratic party, I thought I saw in it what would overcome the mere routine course of thinking among all the thinking portion of that party, and to a great extent, put an end to the prejudices of the honest minds among them on the slavery question. In fact, I looked upon it then and still consider it the Declara-

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tion of Independence upon the whole subject of human slavery. When, therefore, a convention was first proposed to be held in Buffalo, of those opposed to slavery and its influence upon the Government, I went into that movement at once, with earnestness and enthusiasm, and succeeded in getting several influentiai Democrats to go with me, among them two postmasters.

Mr. Christiancy at once associated others with himself and made such an active canvass in the old Democratic county of Monroe that the whole Free Soil county ticket was elected, with all the members of the Legislature except one. And so much influence had the Free Soil movement in Michigan that the Legislature of 1848, with but very few dissenting votes, resolved, "That whenever the Government of the United States shall acquire any territory by conquest, cession, or purchase, in which slavery shall not by law exist at the time of such conquest, cession or purchase, it would be repugnant to the moral sense of this Nation and a violation of the clearest duty for Congress to permit the institution of slavery in any form, to be introduced therein before such territory shall be fully invested with State sovereignty."

The Legislature of 1849, although, on account of the great popularity of General Cass, it elected him to the United States Senate, yet passed resolutions instructing its Senators, and requesting its Representatives to support the principles embodied in the Wilmot Proviso. Kinsley S. Bingham was the only one of the whole delegation who heeded the request, and the fact of his thus putting himself in accord with the growing Anti-Slavery sentiment of the State tended more than any other one thing to bring him forward as an available candidate for the nomination for Governor by the newly-formed Republican party five years later.

In 1849 Mr. Christiancy was unanimously elected to the State Senate on the Buffalo platform, being formally nominated by the Free Soilers and indorsed by the Democrats, the Whigs making no nomination against him. In 1852 he was the candidate of the Free Democrats for Governor, and from the position of leadership thus acquired, he was enabled to exert a great influence in inducing that party to abandon its separate organization two years later. He contributed much more than any other single man to this result.

In the light of subsequent events the Compromises of 1850 seem to have been an entirely useless, as well as mischievous, piece of legislation. The Southerners had involved the country in war, and had expended large sums of money besides, in order to acquire territory into which slavery could be introduced. But the resistless tide of free migration had already demonstrated that slavery could not enter California, the fairest of all the new provinces acquired, and the same migration would have made the rest of the new territory free. The Southerners were disappointed, but could blame no one, and after a short period of complaints and threats, would probably have accepted the situation.

In December, 1849, California was ready for admission as a State, with a population in excess of the number required to entitle a State to representation in Congress. Most of its residents were from the Northern States. Slavery was excluded by the Mexican law from the whole of the newly acquired territory, and the Con-

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stitution of California expressly prohibited it. It was too far from Washington to be conveniently governed as a territory, and the conditions were such as to require a settled government. President Taylor, the principal hero of the war through which the territory was acquired, himself a Southerner and a slave holder, urged forward the movement for statehood, being specially conversant with the needs of that section. But Pro-Slavery Whigs united with the Democrats in opposing the admission of California unless the Government would give assurances of protection to the interests of slavery in the rest of the newly-acquired territory; and they called upon the President to aid them in their purposes, by vetoing the bill for the admission of California in case it was passed. The President answered that he would sign any constitutional law passed by Congress, declared that he desired the admission of California under the Constitution already adopted, and further surprised them by indicating that he favored the application of the Wilmot Proviso to all the territories. They then commenced the usual bluster about dissolving the Union, when the veteran warrior declared that he was ready to take the field in person to enforce his country's laws, and that he would hang any one of them who was taken in rebellion. It was clear that, though a Southerner and a slaveholder, he was to be no tool of the Slave Power. His chief adviser at that time was Wm. H. Seward, who cherished the ambition of making the Whig Party the great National Party, the exponent and interpreter of the sentiment that existed North and South against the further extension of slavery.

President Taylor's policy, if continued, would have diminished the clamor of the extreme Abolitionists of the North, and would have diminished the power for mischief of the Extremists in the South. But Taylor died, a weak man took the Executive chair, the Southern clamor was renewed, and Henry Clay, the great pacificator, with his fatal facility for compromise, brought forward the measures, which, instead of having a calming effect, were fraught with strife and mischief. The so-called Compromise Measures as introduced by him, included, as stated by himself, forbearance of the North to insist upon the application of the Wilmot Proviso to Utah and New Mexico; forbearance of the South to insist upon the express introduction of slavery into those territories; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but not of slavery itself; the enactment of a stringent Fugitive Slave Law; and a large money indemnity to Texas for a considerable part of New Mexico to which it laid claim. President Fillmore not only signed these measures after they were adopted, but exerted the mild influence of his weak administration in their favor, pending their passage.

Of these measures the Fugitive Slave Law was the special cause of irritation at the North. The Constitution provided that "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor shall be due."

The framers of the Constitution carefully avoided the use of the word slave in that instrument, fully expecting that the system would disappear within a compara-

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tively brief period, but this section plainly enough indicated slaves as its subject. Its purpose had never been carried out by stringent legislation before this time. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was clearly within the spirit of this clause of the Constitution, but its provisions were harsh, and its operation in the highest degree irritating. It enlisted the United States Marshals and United States Courts in the rendition of fugitives, and sought to make every citizen a slave catcher; for it required every citizen, when called upon, to aid the marshals in capturing fugitives, and forbade, under severe penalties, the harboring of any fugitive slave, or aiding him to escape. In many cases, in the early application of the law, the Southerners seemed to delight in making its operation as offensive as possible.

The result, as might have been anticipated, was a great awakening of sentiment in the North, not only against the Fugitive Slave Law, but against the whole system of slavery. The pulpits thundered against it from many Old Testament texts; personal liberty bills were passed by many legislatures; the doctrine of the "higher law," superseding in the conscience of many any iniquitous Congressional enactment, was widely proclaimed, and organizations for aiding fugitives to escape were secretly organized.

There were reasons why the feeling in Michigan, both on account of the Fugitive Slave Law, and, later, on account of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, should be especially strong. The State was carved out of the Northwest Territory, from which, by the Ordinance of 1787, slavery was forever prohibited, and all its traditions were those of freedom. It was settled largely by families coming from the sturdiest New York and New England stock, who came here to make their own fortunes by dignified, independent labor, and detested servility. And it was on the highway from the Ohio river to Canada, a way over which many a weary and footsore fugitive was aided. There were groups of strong Anti-Slavery men in Kalamazoo, Marshall, Battle Creek, Detroit and some smaller places, all of which became well-known stations of the "underground railroad." The work of assisting fugitives through these places to Canada kept right on, and the stories told by slaves and the sympathy created for them, naturally strengthened the feeling against the system Michigan was fast becoming a strong Anti-Slavery State in 1849 and 1850, and the reaction in 1852 was less marked than in many other Northern States. James G. Birney, Free Soil candidate for Governor, had 2,776 votes in 1843, and 3,023 in 1845. Chester Gurney had 2,585 in 1847, and Isaac P. Christiancy, candidate under the name of Free Democratic, had 5,850 votes in 1852. The State was ripe for leadership in the revolt of 1854.

One of the planks in the Democratic National platform of 1840 resolved, "That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts by Abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts

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have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions."

The same resolution was repeated in the platform of 1848. Again in 1852 it was repeated, word for word, and the following was added: "That the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress, and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this National platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the last Congress, the Act for Reclaiming Fugitives from service or labor included; which Act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

The convention passed by all the great Democratic leaders and nominated for President Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, a man against whom nothing could be said, because of him but very little was known. Wm. R. King, of Alabama, was the nominee for Vice-President.

The Whigs nominated Gen. Winfield Scott, another Mexican war hero, for President, and Wm. A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President, and gave out the following utterance on the slavery question: "The series of Acts of the Thirty-Second Congress, the Act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace, and so far as they are concerned we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity for further lgislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, or the abuse of their power on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation, whenever, wherever or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain the system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."

The Free Soil Convention, which met in Pittsburgh two months after the Democratic Convention, nominated John P. Hale for President and George W. Julian for Vice-President. The platform, which was an able and patriotic document, took up a variety of National issues, and had the following utterances on the slavery question:

No permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national; by the total separation of the General Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom; and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

To the persevering and importunate demands of the Slave Power for more Slave States, new Slave Territory and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final

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answer is, "No more Slave States, no Slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no National legislation for the extradition of slaves."

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore deny its binding force on the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

The campaign that followed was an easy one for the Democrats The great Whig leaders, Clay and Webster had passed away, the candidates had no strong personal following and the party lacked organization. It had lost the confidence of the Anti-Slavery men of the North, without gaining anything in the South, and it had no great principle upon which to make a contest. The tariff had ceased for the time to be an issue, and its acceptance of the Compromise Measures and its deprecation of further agitation were no more positive, even if more sincere, than those of the Democrats, which were adopted a fortnight earlier.

The Free Soil party lacked the effective organization which it had under Van Buren in 1848, and besides that, it was undeniably true that there was a temporary reaction, even among Anti-Slavery people, against further agitation of the subject The Democrats, therefore, obtained one of the most sweeping of all political victories. They carried every State but four, giving Pierce and King 254 electoral votes, Scott and Graham 42. The popular vote was Democratic, 1,601,474; Whig, 1,386,578; Free Soil, 156,149. In the Thirty-third Congress the Senate stood, Democrats 38, Whigs 22, Free Soilers 2. In the House there were 159 Democrats, 71 Whigs and 4 Free Soilers. The Michigan vote was Democratic, 41,482; Whig, 33,971; Free Soil, 7,237. The Michigan Congressional delegation was all Democratic, consisting of Lewis Cass and Charles E. Stuart in the Senate, and Samuel Clark, David A. Noble, Hester L. Stevens and David Stuart in the House. The Liberty party and Free Soil vote in Michigan in previous elections had been, 1,840, James G. Birney, 321; 1844, James G. Birney, 3,639; 1848, Martin Van Buren, 10,393.

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CHAPTER II.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA CONTROVERSY.

Proposed Organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska—Repeal of the Missouri Compromise Coupled With the Measure—Indignation in the North at the Proposition—Address by Free Soil Senators and Representatives in Congress—Call for the First of the Memorable Michigan Conventions of that Year—Important County Gatherings—Great Mass Meeting in Detroit—Significant Proceedings of the Free Democratic Convention—First Indications of the Hope of United Action—Invaluable Work and Personal Sketches of Michigan Whig Editors Who Were Interested in the Movement.

Of the condition of the country after the elections of 1852, Horace Greeley said in his American Conflict: "The finances were healthy and the public credit unimpaired. Industry and trade were signally prosperous. The tariff had ceased to be a theme of partisan or sectional strife. The immense yield of gold in California during the four preceding years had stimulated enterprise and quickened the energies of labor, and its volume, as yet, showed no signs of diminution. And though the Fugitive Slave Law was still denounced and occasionally resisted by Abolitionists in the Free States, while Disunionists still plotted in secret, and, more openly prepared in Southern commercial conventions, there was still a goodly majority in the South, with a still larger in the North and Northwest, in favor of maintaining the Union and preserving the greatest practicable measure of cordiality and fraternity between the Free and Slave States, substantially on the basis of the Compromise measures of 1850."

President Pierce, at the opening of the Thirty-third Congress, in December, 1853, renewed the assurances that this peaceful condition should remain undisturbed, using the following language: "When the grave shall have closed over all who are now endeavoring to meet the obligations of duty, the year 1850 will be recurred to as a period filled with anxious apprehensions. A successful war had just terminated. Peace brought with it a vast augmentation of territory. Disturbing questions arose, bearing upon the domestic institutions of one portion of the Confederacy, and involving the constitutional rights of the States. But notwithstanding differences of opin-

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ion and sentiment, which then existed, in reference to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the Union can never be doubted, has given renewed vigor to our institutions, and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the Confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to prevent it, those who placed me here may be assured."

Two months later the Washington Union, which was considered the organ of the Administration, closed a long editorial on the subject with the assertion: "Upon a calm review of the whole ground, we yet see no such reason for disturbing the Compromise of 1850 as could induce us to advocate either of the amendments proposed in Mr. Douglass' bill." But Pierce was as weak as the rest of the time-serving Northern tools of Southern aggression; for he not only signed the iniquitous measure after it passed, but his administration organ, in an intolerant editorial, proclaimed the full acceptance of the measure as the "true test of Democracy."

It was folly for the Democrats to disturb this condition of serenity, peace and prosperity. They might have continued it together with Democratic supremacy in politics for many years, if they had kept good their promise to "resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question." But the Southern leaders were accustomed to the facile yielding of the Northern politician, and they did not understand the depth and latent intensity of the Northern feeling against the whole slave system, and the ineradicable hostility to the extension of that system.

At the last session of the Thirty-second Congress, January, 1853, a bill was introduced to organize the territory west of Iowa and Missouri into the single Territory of Platte. It was reported from the Committee on Territories as the Territory of Nebraska, and under the terms of the Missouri Compromise would have been free soil. Many Southern members opposed it, and although it passed the House, it remained on the Senate calendar among the bills not acted upon at the end of the session.

At the opening of the first session of the Thirty-third Congress, December, 1853, Senator Dodge, of Iowa, introduced a bill to organize the same area into the Territory of Nebraska. This was referred to the Committee on Territories, from which it was reported favorably by Senator Stephen A. Douglas, when Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, gave notice that he should offer an amendment providing that the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 should not be so construed as to apply to the territory contemplated by this act, nor to any other territory of the United States.

Senator Douglas was not yet ready for discussion of an amendment of this character, and therefore had the bill recommitted. He subsequently reported it, creating the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska, with the stipulation, "That the Constitution and all laws of the United States, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within said territory as elsewhere in the United States, except the section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which was superseded by the principles of the

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legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measure, and is declared inoperative."

The conditions under which the Missouri Compromise was adopted made this attempt to abrogate it peculiarly exasperating. At the time of its adoption the Southerners had commenced the policy of opposing the admission to the Union of any Free State, until there was a Slave State ready to come in with it, so as to preserve an equality in the Senate between the two sections. It was the same policy that afterwards kept Michigan in waiting for two years after its Constitution was adopted, so that Arkansas might come in with it, and that brought in Iowa and Florida as a pair. In this case Maine was kept in waiting until Missouri could be its companion State. But there was strong objection to permitting the introduction of slavery into Missouri, which was north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the so-called Compromise was offered to facilitate the admission with slavery. This provided "That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes of north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than as the punishment of crimes, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited."

It was by the votes of Southern men and of "Northern men with Southern principles" that Missouri was admitted as a Slave State, even with this provision for freedom in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase. In the adoption of the compromise, including the sanctioning of slavery in Missouri, and the further adoption of the Compromise Measures of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law, the North had yielded enough and the proposition to throw open the rest of the Northwestern territories to slavery roused a storm of indignation and remonstrance.

A warm debate followed the reporting of the bill in the Senate, and finally in place of the reservation mentioned above, the following was, on motion of Senator Douglas, adopted by vote of 35 to 10: "Except the section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation in 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

In order to test the sincerity of the plea for "squatter sovereignty," Senator Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, proposed to add to this section the clause, "Under which the people of the Territory, through their appropriate representatives, may, if they see fit, prohibit the existence of slavery therein." But this was rejected, receiving only 10 affirmative to 36 negative votes, the Senate thus declaring its understanding that the people should not be allowed to prohibit slavery previous to their admission as a State. It was evident that further contest of the measure was hopeless, and

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the bill passed on the morning of March 4 by vote of 37 to 14. Both the Michigan Senators voted with the majority, both on the amendments proposed and on the final passage of the bill.

It was during the pendency of this measure in the Senate that the first of this year's series of memorable conventions was held in Michigan. January 12 a call was issued for a Mass Convention of the Free Democracy to be held at Jackson on the 22d of February, "to effect a complete organization of the Free Democracy in this State, and to nominate candidates for State officers, to be supported at the next general election." Among the signers to the call were Hovey K. Clarke and Samuel Zug, of Detroit, the former of whom was afterwards especially active in the first Republican conventions, and Erastus Hussey, of Battle Creek, one of the most noted Abolitionists in the State, and an active agent of the Underground Railroad.

Between the call and the meeting of this Convention an address was issued to the people of the country by the Free Soil Senators, Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner, and Representatives Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade, Gerrit Smith and Alexander De Witt, arraigning the Kansas-Nebraska bill" as a gross violation of a sacred pledge; as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as a part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast, unoccupied region immigrants from the old world, and free laborers from our own states, and convert it to a dreary region of despotism inhabited by masters and slaves." The various pleas on which the bill was advocated were examined, and their false and fallacious character shown, and an inspiring appeal was made to the anti-slavery sentiment of the country. This timely address was circulated in Michigan, and was a great help in arousing the Anti-Slavery people to action.

The call for the State Convention requested "our friends in all parts of the State, where it has not been already done, to complete their county and town organizations for the coming campaign." Partly in accordance with this request, and partly as an expression of feeling against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, numerous county conventions and mass meetings were held, at some of which persons were appointed to attend the State Convention, and some contented themselves with giving expression to their sentiments in speeches, and with adopting resolutions. One of the most significant of these was the Eaton County Convention, which was held January 20, adopted resolutions denouncing both the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Fugitive Slave Law, listened to speeches by Rev. W. B. Williams, of Charlotte, and Mrs. O. C. Buck, of Eaton Rapids, and appointed delegates to the State Convention.

Far the largest of these gatherings was held in Detroit February 18, four days before the State Convention. It was called simply as an Anti-Nebraska meeting, was attended and officered by both Free Soilers and Whigs, and though it had no direct connection with the Free Democratic Convention, it was one of the first events that was of importance in bringing about friendly feeling between the two organizations. Among the signers to the call for the meeting were Oliver Newberry, Jacob M. Howard, Z. Chandler, Howard, Smith & Co., George B. Pease, Wm. S. Wood, Wm. B. Wesson, Fred Morley, Baker & Conover, John S. Jenness, Lyman Baldwin,

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Francis Raymond, Silas M. Holmes, Frederick Buhl, John Owen, James A. Van Dyke, Samuel Zug, Robert W. King, Daniel Scotten, Wm. A. Butler & Co., Richmond and Backus, Henry P. Baldwin, A. C. McGraw, D. Bethune Duffield, Thos. A. Parker, Edward Kanter, Seymour Finney, Alexander H. Dey, George Kirby, Thomas K. Adams, Joseph Warren, Jacob S. Farrand, Simeon Folsom, Andrew J. Brow and Marcus Stevens. Of Howard, Smith & Co., who signed as a firm, Wm. A. Howard was the senior partner, and Baker & Conover were publishers of the Free Democrat. The officers of the meeting were as follows:

President—Major Jonathan Kearsley.

Vice-Presidents—Oliver Newberry, Shubael Conant, John Gibson, C. C. Trowbridge, Buckminster Wight, Henry P. Baldwin, Judge Henry Chipman, James A. Van Dyke, John Owen, Duncan Stewart, Peter Fischer.

Secretaries—C. A. Trowbridge, D. Bethune Duffield, Eben N. Wilcox.

Speeches were made by Major Kearsley, Zachariah Chandler, Samuel Barstow, James A. Van Dyke and D. Bethune Duffield, and strong resolutions were adopted as reported by a committee consisting of Samuel Barstow, Jacob M. Howard, Joseph Warren, James M. Edmunds and H. H. Leroy.

This mixed meeting did not appoint delegates to the Jackson Convention of February 22d., and that was held as a gathering of Free Democrats exclusively. It is quite worth while, even fifty years later, to mention the names of the officers and committees of this convention, because so many of them were afterwards conspicuous in Michigan political life. The convention was called to order by Hovey K. Clarke as Chairman of the State Central Committee, and was organized by the appointment of De Witt C. Leach as Temporary Chairman, and Chester Gurney as Secretary, and the following committees were appointed:

Permanent Organization—W. W. Murphy, A. H. Strong, S. B. Thayer, S. D. Noble, N. M. Thomas, Josephus Smith, W. W. Booth, Eri Prince.

Resolutions—Hovey K. Clarke, Fernando C. Beaman, Kinsley S. Bingham, Erastus Hussey, Nathan Power, De Witt C. Leach, Lovell Moore.

The permanent officers were as follows:

President—Wm. T. Howell, of Hillsdale.

Vice-Presidents—First judicial district, R. R. Beecher; 2d, Frederick Shurtz; 3d, S. P. Mead; 4th, Thomas Haskins; 5th, Albert G. Tower; 6th, Nathan Power; 7th, De Witt C. Leach; 8th, Robert J. Grant.

Committee on Nominations—First judicial district, Fitch Reed, J. L. White, W. W. Murphy; 2d, J. J. Alexander, J. P. Tompkins, C. W. Clark; 3d, Silas M. Holmes, G. W. Swift, Jabez Fox; 4th, S. D. Noble, Thomas McGee, S. B. Treadwell; 5th, N. M. Thomas, Erastus Hussey, W. Davis; 6th, C. I. Wicker, C. Beardsley, Nathan Power; 7th, D. C. Leach, W. W. Booth; 8th, R. J. Grant, E. Prince, D. Hoyt.

Long political platforms were the fashion of the day, and the pronouncement of this convention was no exception. The planks relating to National affairs with one of those on State issues were as follows:

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The Free Democracy of Michigan, assembled in convention on the anniversary of the birthday of Washington, deem it an appropriate occasion to express our veneration for the character of this illustrious man and our appreciation of the wisdom and patriotism which laid the foundation of our National prosperity in the admirable instrument, the Constitution of the United States. We desire now and always to proclaim our attachment to that union among the people of the United States, of which the Constitution is the bond, and that its great purpose "to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, is and ever shall be ours. And as a political party, organized to promote this purpose, we believe it to be our duty, a duty which is especially and solemnly enjoined upon every man who has sworn to support the Constitution, to support every measure calculated to advance this purpose, and to resist with the energy of inflexible principle every scheme which may defeat or retard it. We therefore resolve:

1. That we regard the institution of domestic slavery, which exists in some of the States of the Union, not only as a foe to the domestic tranquility and welfare of such States, but as subversive of the plainest principles of justice and the manifest destroyer of the blessings of liberty. As an institution, we are compelled to denounce and abhor it. Yet we concede that in the States where it exists it is politically beyond our reach. But as we cannot deny our responsibility concerning it, so long as it finds protection under the laws of the Federal Government, so we will never cease to war against it so long as the purpose of the Constitution shall remain unaccomplished to secure the blessings of liberty to all within its power.

2. That in following in the footsteps of the fathers of the Republic, who regarded freedom the National and slavery the sectional sentiment, we best vindicate their claims to enlightened patriotism, and our own to be considered loyal supporters of the Government they established; and that opposition to any extension of slavery, and to any augmentation of its power, is clearly the duty of all who respect the doctrine or the practice of the wisest and the ablest of the framers of the Constitution.

3. That the attempt now pending in Congress to repeal the enactment by which the vast territory north of the Missouri compromise line was dedicated to freedom is an outrage upon justice, humanity and good faith; one by which traitorous ambition, confederated with violation of a solemn and time-honored compact, is seeking to inflict upon the Nation a deep and indelible disgrace. We denounce the scheme as infamous, and we call upon the people to hold its authors and abettors to the most rigid and righteous accountability.

4. That executive patronage has grown to be an evil of immense magnitude, consolidating the power of the Government into the hands of the incumbent of the Presidential mansion to a degree subversive of all proper accountability to the people; and for which there is no adequate remedy short of a transfer of this power from the President to the people.

5. That we are in favor of cheap postage by land and sea; of free grants of land out of the public domain in limited quantities to actual settlers; of harbor and river improvements, national in their character; and of grants by the Government in aid of the railroad to the Pacific in such form as shall best avoid the wasteful splendor of Government jobs, and secure the early completion of the road.

6. That upon question of State policy we are in favor of the re-enactment of the law for the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors, with such amendments as shall remove all constitutional doubts and secure the highest degree of efficiency to the law. We are in favor of general laws under which capital may be

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associated and combined for the prosecution of works of public improvement and of various industrial pursuits. We are in favor of free schools, and of such a disposition of the public money as shall promote the interests of the State rather than the interests of any individual or corporation; and especially are we opposed to the loaning of the public money at 1 per cent. interest.

The Committee on Nominations took a long time for consideration, but at the evening session reported the following ticket, which was accepted by the Convention as a whole:

Governor—Kinsley S. Bingham.
Lieutenant-Governor—Nathan Pierce.
Secretary of State—Lovell Moore.
State Treasurer—Silas M. Holmes.
Auditor-General—Philotus Hayden.
Attorney-General—Hovey K. Clarke.
Commissioner of the State Land Office—Seymour B. Treadwell.
Superintendent of Public Instruction—Elijah H. Pilcher.
Member of the State Board of Education—Isaac P. Christiancy.

Additional resolutions were adopted recommending the Michigan Free Democrat to the confidence and support of the party, urging thorough local organization, and advising the liberal distribution of documents. S. A. Baker, Samuel P. Mead, Samuel Zug, J. Webster Childs, R. R. Beecher, W. W. Murphy and D. C. Leach were appointed a State Central Committee.

The speeches made in the convention were not reported in the local press, but the Free Democrat notes the fact that Henry Barns and H. H. Emmons, Whigs, were given the platform by courtesy. Of the speech of the latter it said, editorially:

He was not prepared to say yet "Fellow Free Democrats;" but he was rejoiced in the nominations that had been made, and intimated that at least the nominee for Governor would receive his vote. He was pleased to observe the spirit of liberality and concession which was manifested in the choice of candidates and in all the action of the convention. He was heartily with us in our principles and purposes, and so were a vast majority of the Whig party of Michigan. He seemed to hope that there would be but two parties in the State this fall—that all the friends of freedom would be able to stand upon a common platform against the party and platform of the Slave Propagandists. Mr. Emmons made a masterly speech, and won the hearts of all who heard him. If the Whigs of Michigan will take his ground the days of the Slave Democracy are numbered. The Free Democracy are willing to meet them on the grounds indicated in that speech, as the oft-repeated affirmative responses showed.

The speeches were of great service to the convention by opening to the members some view of the advantages which may yet accrue from a judicious and liberal policy in the district and county nominations; and they were a source of sincere delight, as they indicated a prohability of a co-operation of the Whigs in the effort to carry the doctrines of freedom into execution.

This was the first time that the Democrat expressed the hope of a union with the Whigs, but some of the papers attached to the latter party had already considered

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this subject. From this time on they were rapidly ranging themselves in favor of a union of all the anti-slavery elements against the Democracy.

A beginning had been made before this. While the Kansas-Nebraska bill was pending in the Senate the editors of the New York Tribune, Albany Journal, National Intelligencer and some other Whig papers sent a circular to Whig editors throughout the country asking an expression of opinion as to the situation and what the future course of the party should be. In response to this a conference of Whig editors was held in Jackson in February, 1854, Henry Barns, of the Detroit Tribune, being Chairman, and C. V. Deland, of the Jackson Citizen, Secretary. The editors decided to adopt a policy looking to the consolidation, in a new party, of all the anti-slavery elements, and Mr. Barns, together with George A. Fitch, of the Kalamazoo Telegraph, and Zephaniah B. Knight, of the Pontiac Gazette, were appointed a committee to visit the Free Democratic State Convention, and submit the proposition to the leaders of that party. A conference was held in the evening of the 21st of February, at the office of Austin Blair, and among the Free Democratic leaders present were Kinsley S. Bingham, Hovey K. Clarke, of Detroit; Isaac P. Christiancy, of Monroe, and Wm. T. Howell, of Hillsdale. The Free Soilers thought best to go on and hold their convention, and to nominate a ticket, but to authorize their State Central Committee to call a mass convention later, and if a union of the kind proposed was feasible, to withdraw their State ticket and join the new organization.

Shortly after the February Convention, Mr. Bingham, in a conversation with Mr. DeLand, not only expressed a willingness to retire from the ticket himself if a fusion of the anti-slavery forces would be promoted thereby, but favored the withdrawal of the whole Free Democratic ticket for the same purpose. He expressed the conviction that a union of the Free Soilers with the liberal Whigs and Democrats would carry not only Michigan, but the whole North. He also suggested to Mr. DeLand that the anti-Nebraska editors of the State should confer together with a view of finding some common ground upon which all could unite in opposition to the squatter sovereignty doctrine. The two then went to Detroit, and conferred with Jacob M. Howard, Zachariah Chandler, Wm. A. Howard, General Alpheus S. Williams, E. A. Wales, Henry Barns and others, all Whigs. These interviews were not particularly reassuring. A number of those interviewed were very reluctant to give up the Whig organization, though they all did eventually come in except General Williams and Mr. Wales, who remained irreconcilable to the end.

A meeting of editors was then called by circular, to be held a few days later at the office of the Detroit Tribune, and this proved to be of momentous importance. The attendance was not large, but it included a number of the ablest editors of the interior weeklies, which were then much more of a political power than they are today. Among those present were Henry Barns and Joseph Warren, respectively publisher and editor of the Detroit Tribune, C. V. DeLand, of the Jackson Citizen; Z. B. Knight, of the Pontiac Gazette, George A Fitch, of the Kalamazoo Telegraph, and Harvey B. Rowlson, of the Hillsdale Standard. There was considerable apathy, even some misgivings, as to the success of any movement for a union, but Mr. DeLand

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was zealous and Mr. Warren was enthusiastic. The latter said that he should open the discussion at once, which he did, and all of the others present, in course of time, entered heartily into the movement.

Of his attitude at this time and the reasons for it, Mr. Warren wrote in a letter to the Post and Tribune, twenty-five years later as follows:

Feeling an undoubting confidence that the majority of the people of Michigan were as patriotic and true to the principles of freedom as he knew them to be intelligent and honest, he knew that they would eagerly lay aside all pride of opinion and party prejudice that might endanger the success of any measures designed to thwart the schemes of the slave oligarchy and avenge that great outrage (the repeal of the Missouri Compromise).

He, therefore, through the columns of the Tribune took immediate and very decided ground in favor of formally disbanding both the Whig and Free Soil parties of the State, and of the organization, by mass convention, of a new party, composed of all the opponents of slavery extension of whatever name. This course, it is due to himself to state, he took upon his own responsibility, being so thoroughly convinced that it was right and would triumph that he advised not even with his political friends as to the wisdom of the step.

Owing to Mr. Warren's position as editor of the most aggressive Whig paper in the metropolis of the State, he became the most conspicuous of the editors who were engaged in this movement. He was not much of a mixer, associating but little with his fellow politicians. But he was a born fighter, tenacious of his opinions, and persistent in maintaining them. From the solitude of his sanctum he boldly stated his position, and argued almost daily in favor of abandoning the old organizations and forming a new party. Here is a paragraph from one of his editorials published about May 28:

If the Whigs are honest we are confident that they will not let their love for an empty name—a name under which they have suffered defeat after defeat of the most overwhelming and hopeless character for the last fourteen years, each year growing smaller and weaker and more dispirited—for a moment stand in the way of the accomplishment of their desires. That the Whig party will be disgracefully defeated at the next election if they "adhere to their old organization," and "stand by their time-honored banner," no sensible well-informed Whig will deny. Indeed, this is frankly admitted by the shrewdest and most intelligent Whigs in the State. What, then, shall we have gained by adhering to our organization. Why, simply a glorious defeat, and the preservation of our dignity and our worthless name, at the expense of our principles, for principles can only be preserved by the triumph of the party who profess them.

And here is another, published June 2, in which he showed a willingness to make extreme concessions on the part of the Whigs:

Our proposition is that a convention be called, irrespective of old party organizations, for the purpose of agreeing upon some plan of action that shall combine the whole anti-Nebraska, anti-slavery sentiment of the State upon one ticket. If this should be done, we have declared our willingness to see the Free Soil ticket nominated.

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We have had a very strong hope that as soon as the candidates of the Free Soil party have any assurance that a new organization would publicly dopt, as a basis of action, the principle of opposition to slavery aggression in every shape, they would decline the nominations, and frankly submit their claims to the proposed convention. We have full confidence that they will do this, from their character as men, and the earnest and honest desire we feel certain they have to wrest this State from the grasp of the Pro-Slavery faction, who now control, and who have so basely betrayed it. If they do this, we do not hesitate to declare that our earnest desire is to see them renominated, and to pledge ourselves to use the little influence we possess to further that object.

This latter particularly incensed the Advertiser, the other Detroit Whig paper, which quoted portions of it, day after day, and attacked its positions with great bitterness. But Mr. Warren kept serenely on his way, never receding an inch from the ground he had taken. In the end such extreme concessions on the part of the Whigs were not necessary, for the entire Free Soil ticket was withdrawn, and the great convention of July 6 renominated only three to the places to which they had already been named.

After the nominations were made Mr. Warren supported the ticket, and the principles which it represented, with vigor and ability, and no one rejoiced more than he at the successful issue of the campaign. He lived to enjoy the triumphs of the Republican party for thirty years after that, spending the last years of his life as clerk in the Postoffice Department at Washington.

Mr. DeLand not only gave the movement a strong support in his paper, but aided it very materially in other ways. He was the chief promoter of the first conferences held by the leading Whigs, and also of the conferences of editors held in his own office and in that of the Detroit Tribune. Believing that it was desirable to have some suitable person on hand wherever there was missionary work to be done, he attended the State Temperance convention at Jackson June 20, and used his utmost exertions to prevent the nomination of a separate ticket there. He printed the calls for the mass convention of July 6, and aided in giving them a wide circulation, and was among the most active of Jackson citizens in making preparations for the convention itself.

For nearly half a century after that memorable convention Col. DeLand continued active in political and public affairs. He represented the Jackson district in the State Senate at the session of 1861. October 15 of that year he entered the army as Captain of Co. C, Ninth Michigan Infantry, and January 1, 1863, became Colonel of the First Sharpshooters. He was twice wounded in action, remained in service till February 4, 1865, and was breveted Brigadier General March 14, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious service." He was subsequently editor of the Saginaw Enterprise and Saginaw Republican, and represented the Saginaw district in the State Senate at the session of 1873. He afterwards removed to a farm near Jackson, but in 1902, at the age of 74, he left the farm and for a few months again wielded the editorial pen in the office of the Jackson Citizen, as bright, vigorous and "sassy" as ever. Tough in fibre and equally tenacious of life and of his opinions, he outlived

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all but two of his editorial associates in the great campaign of 1854, surviving until the latter part of the year 1903.

George A. Fitch, of the Kalamazoo Telegraph, was one of the earliest and ablest of the editorial supporters of the new movement. April 26, in a strong leader, he boldly declared that the old parties had outlived their usefulness, and that an imperative necessity existed for the organization of a new political party. He continued:

We cannot look to any other movement of the old parties in these matters [The Kansas-Nebraska bill and questions touching slavery] that brings any promise of success, nor to any class of old broken-winded, broken-down politicians; but we may look with a strong hope of success to see these measures consummated by the HONORABLE and ACTIVE YOUNG MEN of the State—those who have not trimmed their sails to catch every breeze which has swept across every political sea; those who have not acted for years as the mere weather cocks of public opinion, but active and untiring young men, who shall enter with assurance and vigor into the field—those capable of grasping the questions of the time, and wringing from them their meanings—a little after the "young America" order, if you please. We therefore advise the holding of a YOUNG MEN'S INDEPENDENT STATE CONVENTION, irrespective of party, at an early period, to express their opinions upon the leading questions which now agitate the masses of the people of this and other States, to advise and consult together and to adopt such plans for future action as their consultation would give rise to.

Still earlier than this, April 19, came the following utterance from the Marshall Statesman:

The question is daily asked us "Why don't you come out and support the Independent Democratic ticket?" This is an important question and we cannot answer it without a little more time to consider. If the Whig party as a whole could be induced to support the ticket, we should have no personal objection but would be glad to have them do it. But unless they can enter into this contest with a hearty unanimity, we see nothing to be gained by the movement. When the Whigs are called together to decide what course shall be pursued, we trust they will be able to lay aside, for a time, their own party organization, and unite with the opponents of slavery extension, and be able, in that way, to administer a rebuke to those who would violate old and established principles, and pander to the cupidity of slavery-extensionists. The Whigs agree with the Free Democracy in their opposition to the spread of slavery, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and could they unite on a common platform in the selection of State and County officers, we are certain that the result would be propitious to the cause of freedom and humanity.

Aaron B. Turner, of the Grand Rapids Eagle, was another editor who did excellent work in the early stages of the movement. The paper, up to 1852, had always been Whig in politics, and as such entered very vigorously into the Presidential campaign of that year. After the disastrous termination of that campaign, he reached the end of his resources, and the paper suspended publication. When it resumed, a short time afterwards, it was as an "Independent Democratic journal." Before the February Convention Mr. Turner declared that the Whig party had reached the end of its usefulness, and that there must be a reorganization of parties with a view of combining all the friends of freedom and equal rights. He now urged another and

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joint convention, the abandonment of the Whig organization, a new party and a new name. He also urged that they make a beginning of fusion at once and right at home. The spring municipal election was coming on in Grand Rapids. The Free Democrats had a strong local organization called the Free Democratic Club, which formed the nucleus of a new organization. A mass convention was called of all those opposed to the Democracy, and Wilder D. Foster, a member of the club, was, against his protest, nominated for Mayor. Although the city had been strongly Democratic, the combination ticket won. In this short and decisive campaign Mr. Turner was one of the most prominent and zealous workers. He rendered efficient newspaper and committee service to the Republican party for over thirty years after that, and lived to watch its campaigns and its successes till May, 1903.

Z. B. Knight, of the Pontiac Gazette, who, as noted above, attended the earlier conferences of Whig editors, was, almost from the first, in favor of abandoning the old organizations and forming a new party.

Among the younger witnesses of proceedings at the Jackson convention was James O'Donnell, who subsequently served four terms in Congress, and who has now, for many years, been the proprietor and editor of the Jackson Citizen.

Still another, who was prominent in the convention was DeWitt C. Leach, who afterwards made the Traverse City Herald the strongest paper in Northern Michigan, and who represented the Grand Traverse district in the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses. Mr. Leach survives to note the proceedings of the semi-centennial celebration.

The Democrat, which was the Detroit organ of the Free Soilers or Free Democracy, had as publisher Jabez Fox, and as editorial writers S. A. Baker and James F. Conover. Judging from surface indications, Mr. Conover was, from the first, in favor of a union with the Whigs upon any reasonable terms, but the paper for a time, put on a very supercilious air, asserted that the Free Soil party was the only one in the State that was opposed to the extension of slavery, attacked Mr. Warren personally, and intimated that the only thing for the Whigs to do was to come over bodily to the support of the Free Soil ticket.

The Tribune in an editorial about June 1, challenged the assertion made by the Democrat that the Free Soil organization was the only party in the State that was opposed to the extension of slavery, criticised its general assumption of superior political purity, resented the sneering tone of that paper toward the Whig party and closed the article as follows: "We shall therefore let pass the other offensive portions of the article, trusting that the wise and good men of the Independent Democracy and of the Whigs may yet agree upon a plan for an honorable union among the friends of freedom in Michigan. We pledge ourselves to go as far as those who will go farthest in accomplishing this most desirable result. Of this we have already given sufficient evidence."

Mr. Warren also put the question plainly, "Will the Free Soilers permit us to unite with them upon fair and honorable terms?" To this the Democrat replied under date of June 2: "We have no doubt that it is the desire of every citizen of this State,

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opposed to slave aggression, that some plan of united action shall be determined upon, by which their opposition can be made as effective as it is possible, and we are confident that no Independent Democrat will oppose such an union if entered into in the spirit of perfect fairness."

From that time on the Democrat gave a reasonably hearty support to the plan of union which contemplated the organization of a new party. After the convention, of which Mr. Conover was one of the secretaries, the paper zealously supported the ticket throughout the campaign. Mr. Conover continued in editorial work for a dozen years after this, when he entered the Episcopal ministry, in which he continued till his death in 1902.

With one exception every Whig paper in the State of any prominence was lined up for fusion before the Jackson Mass Convention met, and their influence was of immeasurable value in making complete fusion possible.

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CHAPTER III.

LEADING UP TO THE GREAT CONVENTION.

Difficulties in the Way of Fusion—Sentimental Attachment to Old Names and Organizations—The Missouri Compromise Agitation in the Lower House of Congress—Final Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act—Ringing Call for a Mass Convention, Which is Held at Kalamazoo—Strong Anti-Slavery Sentiment in that locality—A series of Vigorous Resolutions—The Right Hand of Fellowship Extended to Other Anti-Slavery Workers—Movement Initiated for a General Mass Convention—An Inspiring Call and an Immense Number of Signatures—Disagreeing Elements Gradually Assimilating.

Notwithstanding this sincere desire on the part of the best men of both the Whig and Free Soil parties to form a union, there were some difficulties in the way. The Free Democrats were ready to part with their own name, but were not, as a general thing, ready to join the Whigs. Many of the latter, on the other hand, were unwilling to give up an organization and a name which had become endeared to them by a whole generation of struggles, with alternate defeats and triumphs. If any attempt had been made to force the fusion soon after it was first proposed the attempt would have been a failure. But the leaders wisely waited for the leaven of newspaper influence and personal appeal to work, at the same time that the natural course of events was having its effect. The spring municipal election in Grand Rapids was very encouraging. Equally so were the March State election in New Hampshire and the April election in Connecticut. In both States, without any complete fusion of the opposition, the Democrats were defeated.

A little incident in Detroit was a great help. The year before, upon a question of the division of the school moneys, unwisely injected into the municipal election by the Catholic clergy, the regular Democrats had been very badly beaten, partly through open defections from their own ranks. In the municipal campaign this year the Democratic caucuses formally read out of the party a large number of Democrats for supporting the Independent Democratic or mixed ticket of the year before. On the 3d of March the Free Press printed a list of 118 of these, including among them ex-Mayor Henry Ledyard, Andrew Ladue, G. V. N. Lothrop, Wm. A. Moore, Bela Hubbard, Chas. I. Walker, Levi Bishop, Jed P. C. Emmons, Addison Mandell, Jere-

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miah Godfrey, Samuel C. Watson, Charles Howard, Henry J. Buckley, Major Jonathan Kearsley, J. Aspinall, Alexander J. Frazer, and others of prominence. Most of the one hundred and eighteen afterwards found their way back into the Democratic ranks, but quite a number of them joined the new movement and finally became Republicans.

But the greatest impetus to the movement for consolidation was given by the debate in the National House of Representatives on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. A separate bill had been introduced in the House, but when the subject came up for consideration the Senate bill was substituted for it, and by a parliamentary trick its opponents were prevented from offering amendments. The following proviso, called the "Badger Amendment," was, however, added after the words, "subject only to the Constitution of the United States"; "Provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to revive or put in force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the Act of March 6, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting or abolishing slavery."

The debate on the bill continued at intervals for several weeks. It was often very bitter, and served to increase the excitement and the hostility to the measure in the north. It finally passed the House by the close vote of 113 to 110. Of the Michigan members, Samuel Clark, of Kalamazoo, and David Stuart, of Detroit, voted for it, and David A. Noble, of Monroe, and Hestor L. Stevens, of Pontiac, voted against it. The Michigan Democracy had, by resolution in State Convention in 1849, and by vote in the Legislature both in 1848 and 1849, declared against the further extension of slavery, and the feeling here was intensified by the thought that the votes of the two recreant Representatives in Congress might have turned the scale.

The bill went back to the Senate, in form as an original bill, but in reality the Senate bill, with slight amendment. It finally passed the Senate May 26 and was signed by President Pierce May 30.

The excitement attendant upon the final passage of this act seemed to make the occasion timely for calling the Mass Convention authorized by the Free Democratic Convention of February 2. The following call was, therefore, issued by S. A. Baker, Samuel P. Mead, Samuel Zug, J. W. Childs, R. R. Beecher, W. W. Murphy and D. C. Leach, styling themselves the "Independent Democratic Committee":

MASS STATE CONVENTION

TO

OPPOSE THE CONSUMMATION

OF THE

REPEAL

OF THE

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

FELLOW CITIZENS—A fearfully momentous question is agitating the American people: It is whether within the forms of the Constitution (which were designed to establish and extend the blessings of liberty), the scope and intent of that instrument

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shall be subverted, and its whole power exerted to promote and extend the system of slavery which prevails in some of the States of the Union.

Step by step within a third of a century have the enemies of freedom advanced, at first cautiously, but with increasing boldness, and step by step have its friends been driven back, until, by the crowning perfidy of the passage of the Nebraska bill, the Constitution is subverted, and that system which at the organization of our Government begged for a temporary existence, has become the great controlling power of the nation. SLAVERY IS RAMPANT IN THE CAPITOL. It makes and unmakes Presidents, and its Presidential tools buy and sell the representatives of the people like chattels in market. There is no lower depth that the nation can reach but one; and that is, that the people, by adopting the act of their Representatives in Congress, shall voluntarily consent to share this degradation. PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN, can it be that this foul scheme will receive your sanction? Can it be that the immense region about to be organized as the Nebraska and Kansas Territories, in which FREE institutions ought to be allowed an unquestioned right, which right, moreover, has been bought and paid for by concessions which have introduced three slave States in the Union; can it be that Freemen after they have bought their own domain shall be compelled to submit to the robbery of that which was their own by nature and by purchase? Shall they submit without complaint? Will they raise a voice of remonstrance? Is the spirit of liberty—the spirit of the fathers of the Revolution, the haters of oppression in every form—"crushed out" at the impudent command of a demagogue, and crushed out forever? PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN. Look at your Representatives in Congress. Are you satisfied with their conduct? How recently have most, if not all of them, when seeking your favor, committed themselves fully against the extension of slavery into free territory? Is that their position now? Give all the credit you can to the two who voted, at the passage of the bill, against it. How much are they still justly answerable for in smoothing the way of the dominant majority to this most shameful success; and you will retain them? Are you willing to share their degradation by approving their conduct—by which the passage of the bill was finally accomplished?

The undersigned, representing the only political party in this State, which, as a party, adopt as a principle in its political creed opposition to the extension of slavery, believe that the time has come when the people who regard slavery as a sectional and not a National institution should rally to vindicate this principle, take the liberty to invite a

MASS CONVENTION

of all who would restore the Government to its original position on the slavery question, of all who are opposed to the consummation of the Nebraska fraud, to assemble at

KALAMAZOO
ON THE 21ST OF JUNE NEXT.

at noon, there to concentrate their opposition to the rapid strides of the slave power, in such a manner as shall be deemed most practical and efficient, and to protect their own cherished rights as citizens of free States. In taking the initiative in this call they intend no disrespect to any party or body of their fellow citizens who may sympathize with them in its object. They could not, without seeming to neglect the interests which they are especially appointed to promote, decline to act at this juncture, and they believe it their duty to act promptly. They desire it, however, to be under-

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stood that all who approve the objects of this call, as above expressed, are earnestly invited by their presence and participation in the convention to show that the PEOPLE ARE AROUSED, and that the day of retribution to their betrayers is at hand.

The calling of the convention at Kalamazoo was very appropriate. Next, perhaps, to Battle Creek, it was the most pronounced Anti-Slavery community in the State. As far back as 1843, when James G. Birney ran for Governor, he received 200 votes in the county, and in subsequent elections the Free Soil vote was often 20 per cent of the whole. The Whigs had carried the county in the last four Presidential elections, including the one in which Cass himself was a candidate. Many of the Democrats were opposed to the further extension of slavery, and some were ready to join the new party. Kalamazoo village was the home of Senator Chas. E. Stuart, and Congressman Samuel Clark, both of whom had made speeches against the principles of the Nebraska bill and then voted for it, a course which incensed many of their Democratic constituents. A number of these signed a call for an Anti-Nebraska meeting which was held as early as March 11, among them being S. H. Ransom, a brother of ex-Governor Epaphroditas Ransom, and George W. Winslow, an active partisan and one of the most capable Democratic leaders. The Gazette, the leading Democratic paper in that part of the State, had abused them for this action in a manner so venomous as to aid in sowing the seeds of Democratic discord. The county was represented in the nominating convention of February 22, in part, by Dr. A. M. Thomas, of Schoolcraft, an active Liberty man and station agent of the Underground Railroad, who was now heartily in favor of a union of Anti-Slavery forces. The best of feeling therefore prevailed between the local Whigs and Free Soilers, while the Democrats were in a condition of irritation and discord. It may be noted here as an interesting fact that Kalamazoo county has given a plurality for every Republican candidate for Governor from 1854 to the present time, and a clear majority at every election save one.

The Convention was held in the Court House. A rainy day and the celebration of the quarter centennial of the settlement of the village reduced the attendance below what was expected, but the gathering was earnest, harmonious and enthusiastic. It included a good number of Whig and Free Soil leaders, among them four of the candidates on the State ticket, viz., Kinsley S. Bingham, Silas M. Holmes, Hovey K. Clarke and S. B. Treadwell. Jackson was more largely represented than any other county, and Dr. M. A. McNaughton, of the city of that name, was made temporary chairman, with James F. Conover, of Detroit, temporary secretary. The permanent officers were as follows:

President—M. A. McNaughton, of Jackson.

Vice-Presidents—Alfred R. Mitchell, of St. Joseph; Samuel P. Mead, of Wayne; Delamore Duncan, of Kalamazoo; Orlando Moffatt, of Calhoun.

Secretaries—J. F. Conover, of Wayne; Aaron B. Turner, of Kent.

The committee on resolutions consisted of Hovey K. Clarke, chairman, Samuel Ransom, U. Tracy Howe, W. E. Dale, Chester Gurney, H. B. Rexford and C. V. DeLand, and they reported the following series through their chairman:

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WHEREAS, This convention, called to aid in concentrating the popular sentiment of this State to resist the aggressions of the slave power, are deeply impressed with the importance of the crisis in our national affairs; we are compelled to contemplate a strife in the councils of the nation, participated in to some extent by the people, in which the elemental principles of wrong and injustice are warring against the interests of justice and liberty. We have seen this strife carried to a degree of success shameful to its authors, and which excites the most alarming apprehensions for the peace and prosperity of the country; we have seen our national government sinking from the position of the freest nation on earth to that of a mere Presidential Despotism, and that too controlled by a system of iniquity which is the disgrace of our country and the scorn of mankind; therefore,

1. RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the United States establishes a Government of Freemen for a free people; and that in so far as the Government has been perverted from its original purpose it is the duty of every lover of his country to seek its restoration to the original purpose of its authors.

2. RESOLVED, That the Institution of Slavery which existed in some of the States at the formation of the Constitution was then regarded as exceptional and local in its character, and was to be limited and restricted until it should finally disappear.

3. RESOLVED, That in the recent passage of the bill for the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, we see the crowning act of a series of aggressions by which the sectional and exceptional character of slavery has been gradually changed until it has become the great National interest of the Country, for the protection of which every other interest must be sacrificed, and its power has become so potent that from the President to the Postmaster, all the functionaries of the Executive Government are twisted and corrupted by it into absolute subjection to its insulting demands.

4. RESOLVED, That evils so great as these demand a remedy; and that if that remedy cannot be found in the virtue of the people, a people who are yet true to the instincts of liberty, to the immortal principles proposed by the Fathers of the Constitution, a people who enjoy the blessings of the government they established, and a people who are yet willing to display some of the energy and perseverance, and if need be, sacrifice, which moved the patriots of seventy-six to the accomplishment of their great work, then the days of the republic are numbered, and it must soon become what its laws will make it, a nation of slaves.

5. RESOLVED, That we do not and will not despair; that we believe the people of this State are ready to respond to the call of their country in this emergency; that they are ready irrespective of all past political preferences to declare in an unmistakeable tone, their will; and that will is that slavery aggression upon their rights shall go no further—that there shall be no compromise with Slavery—that there shall be no more Slave States—that there shall be no Slave Territory—that the Fugitive Slave Law shall be repealed—that the abominations of Slavery shall no longer be perpetrated under the sanctions of the Federal Constitution—and that they will make their will effective by driving from every place of official power the public servants who have so shamelessly betrayed their trust and by putting in their places men who are honest and capable; men who will be faithful to the Constitution and the great claims of humanity.

6. RESOLVED, That the Free Democracy of Michigan rejoice to behold the indications of popular sentiment furnished by this Convention. They are conscious that the deeply-aroused feeling of the masses in this state will seek a suitable expression

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in a Convention springing from themselves, irrespective of any political organization; and that if such a movement shall be animated and guided by the principles expressed in the resolutions of this Convention and shall contemplate an efficient organization to give effect to our principles in this state, we shall willingly surrender our distinctive organization, and with it the ticket for state officers nominated at Jackson on the 22nd of February last; and that we commit the execution of this purpose to a committee of 16—two persons from each judicial district, to be appointed by this Convention.

The resolutions were taken up seriatim and the first, second and third were adopted without discussion. The fourth and fifth were adopted after quite extended debate. When the sixth was reached, Rev. Alanson St. Clair, who had previously addressed the Convention on the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution and the aggressions of slavery, moved that it be recommitted with instructions to incorporate the Free Soil platform adopted at Jackson, February 22, as a portion of the instructions to the Committee of sixteen, to be adhered to at the Jackson Convention on the 6th of July. Especially did he wish to see the Fugitive Slave Law and the Maine Law plank in the instructions.

J. R. Mansell, of Kalamazoo, hoped the Independent Convention would be left entirely untrammeled, and that no platforms would be erected here, to be insisted upon there, as a basis of a union of all the friends of the present issue—Anti-Nebraska. No other issues should be interpolated, as all could not agree upon others, and the Maine Law was one of them.

U. Tracy Howe thought they should not grasp at too much. If they did they were very likely to lose all. This Convention and the one of July 6 wanted to have no issues but Anti-Nebraska. This must be the leading issue, and not secondary to the Maine Law.

Various phases of these three views were discussed at some length, and with considerable spirit, when the motion to recommit was withdrawn, and the resolution was unanimously adopted as reported.

At an evening meeting addresses were made by U. Tracy Howe, Kinsley S. Bingham, and Hovey K. Clarke, and the following Committee of sixteen was announced under the terms of the sixth resolution:

First Judicial District—Isaac P. Christiancy, Monroe; W. W. Murphy, Hillsdale.

Second—Wm. Wheeler, St. Joseph; W. B. Joslyn, Berrien.

Third—U. Tracy Howe and S. A. Baker, Wayne.

Fourth—Lawson Wilcox, Jackson; S. D. Noble, Washtenaw.

Fifth—N. M. Thomas, Kalamazoo; Erastus Hussey, Calhoun.

Sixth—Nathan Power, Oakland; Wm. Canfield, Macomb.

Seventh—D. C. Leach, Genesee; E. F. Gay, Livingston.

Eighth—Eli Prince, Kent; Cyrus Lovell, Ionia.

Aside from the formal action of the Convention much was accomplished at this time toward smoothing the way for Union by conferences of the recognized Free

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Soil leaders whom the occasion had called together. After the Convention adjourned a private council of a number of these men was held at the residence of Rev. Dr. J. A. B. Stone, then President of Kalamazoo College, and for many years a zealous Free Soiler. Among those present were most of the candidates on the Free Democratic ticket, together with M. A. Mc Naughton, Jabez Fox and C. V. DeLand. There it was agreed that they would not only acquiesce in conciliatory measures, such as the withdrawal of their ticket, but that they would strive, by personal efforts and by enlisting the services of their friends, to complete a permanent Fusion of the Free Soilers, Whigs and Anti-Nebraska Democrats. The participants in this conference devoted a large part of their time during the next fortnight to measures intended to secure a large and thoroughly representative attendance at the Jackson Convention. The Convention had appointed a Committee consisting of M. A. McNaughton, Aaron B. Turner, Austin Blair, Hovey K. Clarke and Jabez Fox, to draw up an appeal to the people, and they soon produced the following:

TO THE PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN:

A great wrong has been perpetrated. The slave power of the Country has triumphed. Liberty is trampled under foot. The Missouri compromise, a solemn compact entered into by our Fathers, has been violated, and a vast territory, dedicated to freedom, has been opened to slavery.

This Act, so unjust to the North, has been perpetrated under circumstances which deepen its perfidy. An administration, placed in power by Northern votes, has brought to bear all the resources of executive corruption in its support.

Northern Senators and Representatives, in the face of the overwhelming public sentiment of the North, expressed in the proceedings of public meetings and solemn remonstrances, without a single petition in its favor on the table, and not daring to submit this great question to the people, have yielded to the seductions of executive patronage and, Judas-like, betrayed the cause of liberty; while the South, inspired by dominant and grasping ambition, has, without distinction of party, and with a unanimity almost entire, deliberately trampled under foot a solemn compact entered into in the midst of a crisis threatening to the peace of the Union—sanctioned by the greatest names of our history—and the binding force of which has, for a period of more than 30 years, been recognized and declared by numerous acts of legislation.

Such an outrage upon liberty, such a violation of plighted faith, cannot be submitted to. This great wrong must be righted, or there is no longer a North in the councils of the nation.

The extension of slavery under the folds of the American flag is a stigma upon liberty. The indefinite increase of slave representation in Congress is destructive to that equality between free men which is essential to the permanency of the Union.

The safety of the Union—the rights of the North—the interests of free labor—the destiny of a vast territory and its untold millions for all coming time—and, finally, the high aspirations of humanity, for universal freedom, all are involved in the issue forced upon the Country by the slave power and its plastic Northern tools.

In view, therefore, of the recent action of Congress upon this subject, and the evident designs of the Slave power to attempt still further aggressions upon freedom, we invite all our fellow-citizens, without reference to former political associations,

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who think that the time has arrived for a union at the North to protect liberty from being overthrown and downtrodden, to assemble in

MASS CONVENTION,

on Thursday, the 6th of July next, at 1 o'clock p. m.,

AT JACKSON.

there to take such measures as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment of this State against the aggression of the slave power.

Of this stirring appeal Mr. DeLand printed 500 copies which were sent by members of the conference and by co-operating Whigs and Democrats to prominent citizens in every County and large town in the State, as well as to every Whig and Free Soil newspaper. The response was speedy and full of encouragement. In less than a fortnight 10,000 signatures were received, and they kept coming in up to the day of the Convention. From Wayne county, mostly from Detroit, appeared the following names:

J. A. Van Dyke,
E. C. Walker,
G. B. Pease,
B. Wight,
H. Hallock,
F. Raymond,
S. B. Thayer,
S. Conant,
L. B. Mizner,
R. C. Smith,
Thos. C. Miller,
J. B. Bloss,
J. Owen,
Silas M. Holmes,
Jacob S. Farrand,
L. C. Rose,
F. O. Wilder,
A. A. Fish,
Wm. Robinson,
E. N. Wilcox,
Jno. J. Bagley,
E. Kanter,
M. Dorke,
L. D. F. Armstrong,
E. B. Ward,
T. W. Lockwood,
Eli S. Williams,
C. C. Foote,
M. Winton Field,
O. C. Thompson,
Theo. Williams,
O. P. Chubb,
J. Bickford,
L. H. Haynes,
W. True,
J. M. Howard,
D. Smart,
E. Graham,
F. Buhl,
W. Jennison, Jr.,
J. Van Rensellaer,
H. C. Knight,
W. W. Howland,
N. Huffman,
J. Bigley,
C. A. Trowbridge,
Lyman Baldwin,
J. W. Tillman,
D. Bethune Duffield,
O. N. Hyde,
T. S. Sprague,
Geo. McKenzie,
R R. Bell,
J. S. Vernor,
J. M. Guile,
G. D. Hill,
C. L. Palmer,
Jas. S. Conklin,
Chas. Betts,
C. H. Hastings,
A. McFarland,
S. A. Baker,
Geo. W. Patterson,
M. Solomons,
Swift & Seymour,
Jas. Nall, Jr.,
H. H. Duncklee,
J. Kearsley,
E. Eldred,
Jas. G. Crane,
E. C. Wilder,
S. C. Smith,
J. E. Bigelow,
E. Chope,
Philip Thurber,
C. B. Ketcham,
C. M. Howard,
T. R. Spence,
R. W. King,
J. L. Whiting,
G. F. Porter,
W. D. Cochrane,
J. Logan Chipman,
W. Clay,
S. Stevens,
A. G. Noyes,
J. J. Noyes,
S. C. Rumney,
Benoni Colvin,
Geo. B. Parson,
R. H. Wallace,
J. Burns,
A. Knight,
J. S. Jenness,
Wm. Roe,
Luther Beecher,
Edmund Hall,
Pliny Power,
F. Carp,
Jas. McGrath,
A. S. Lapham,
A. H. Dey,

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O. S. Cushing,
T. K. Adams,
H. Benedict,
T. Partridge,
Wm. Phelps & Bro.,
H. Glover,
E. B. Fitch,
J. A. Armstrong,
Thos. Fraser,
Geo. Davis,
N. W. Barrett,
R. N. Rice,
J. G. Reed,
U. Tracy Howe,
Samuel Barstow,
Z. Chandler,
Ezekiel Webb,
Sam'l P. Mead,
Edward Orr,
M. H. Webster,
N. D. Stebbins,
Cullen Brown,
L. L. Newman,
N. M. Sutton,
H. P. Baldwin,
Franklin Moore,
R. P. Toms,
R. F. Johnstone,
O. B. Smith,
J. A. Roys,
S. S. Barnard,
W. R. Noyes,
Charles Vail,
E. M. Clark,
Thos. Cook,
Thos. Anderson,
J. F. Conover,
E. P. Bradford,
T. H. Armstrong,
Sylv. Larned,
A. Whitney,
M. W. Warner,
S. N. Kendrick,
J. W. Ingersoll,
Geo. S. Thurber,
A. E. Bissell,
Geo. Winter,
M. P. Hutchings,
Hiram Walker,
T. H. Hinchman,
H. K. Clarke,
W. B. Wesson,
Arthur C. Porter,
E. Bingham,
C. H. Armstrong,

From other cities and counties were included the following prominent names:

Ypsilanti—L. A. Crane, G. P. Sanford, Samuel Post, Enoch Yost, W. Lee Yost, J. Estabrook, D. Showerman.

Lenawee County—A. N. Bradish, S. B. Carpenter, J. Cameron, W. S. Wilcox, J. W. Ayres, C. E. Mickley, W. E. Kimball, Chas. M. Croswell, A. J. Dean, J. B. Chaffee, H. N. Comstock.

Kalamazoo—S. H. Ransom, T. P. Sheldon, W. Shakespeare, A. G. Hopkins, N. Cameron, Marsh Giddings, E. H. Porter, F. W. Curtenius, A. Cameron, D. S. Walbridge, J. Sleeper, O. N. Giddings, Allen Potter, J. W. Edwards, Jonathan Parsons, L. H. Trask, E. L. Knapp.

Eaton County—Benjamin Follett, L. Ward, J. B. Chapin, O. Reed, O. Hosford.

Grand Rapids—J. H. Crosby, D. A. Morris, J. H. Burroughs, D. Bush, P. Burton, H. Dean.

St. Joseph County—Wm. L. Stoughton, J. Allman, H. Packard, E. P. Church, A. Kenyon.

Jackson—A. Root, M. A. McNaughton, C. W. Penny, M. Draper, Eugene Pringle, Austin Blair, A. Bennet, A. Landon.

Ann Arbor—S. B. McCracken, H. Hewitt, S. D. Noble, A. Chapin, V. Tyler, L. Goodrich, H. Van Cleve, J. Geddes, E. Marr, A. G. Hall.

Calhoun County—Erastus Hussey, C. T. Gorham, P. L. Root, W. Hatch, A. Hewitt, Z. Lester, J. Dibble, J. B. Conklin, M. Ostrander, N. Maniates, C. Pratt, P. Hewitt.

Monroe—T. P. Christiancy, E. Slayton, C. Woodruff, J. Vandeventer, H. Armitage, G. Vandeventer, G. Custer, J. Bentley, Jr., J. Ilgenfritz, W. Masten.

Upon the action of this Connvention the Demcorat, which had not at first been inclined to concede much to the Whigs, made the following comment:

Now when the exigencies of the times demand that a permanent party of Freemen in this State, with enlarged facilities for action, should be formed, a party which

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shall be but a single section of that great National freedom organization which is to restore our Government to its once proud position, and wrest it from the control of the Slave Oligarchy, the members of the Convention felt called upon, by all that is hallowed in love of Country and sacred in humanity to surrender, as they offer to do, everything but principle. No ordinary emergency could have secured such entire unanimity of consent to so great a surrender. The seductions of a temporary triumph would not have moved them to such action, but now that the aroused sentiment of the country demanded the organizationn of a party that should be entirely efficient to the maintenance of those principles upon which our Government was established, "a Government of free men for free people," they have unhesitatingly taken the action their resolutions record.

The Whig papers generally accepted the action of the Convention as an indication that a complete agreement might be reached.

But there was still another element to be taken into account. A total abstinence and prohibition wave had swept over the country. The Michigan Constitution of 1850 contained a prohibitory clause, and temperance feeling was strong in all the old parties. A mass temperance Convention was called to meet at Jackson June 20, and it proved to be a large and imposing gathering. From the three towns of Grass Lake, Leoni and Napoleon alone there came a procession of 57 wagons, all loaded and carrying the "Maine Law Flag," the whole headed by the Grass Lake brass band. One of the Leonians gave expression in the Convention to a feeling that was quite prevalent among extremists in the gathering. He said the people of Leoni went for the Maine Law and nothing else. They cared nothing for the opinion of the Supreme Court or any other Court. The law was a good one and ought to be enforced everywhere, and they were going to enforce it in Leoni whether they did anywhere else or not.

The question which had been considered in previous years was raised again, viz., whether they should organize a separate party or exert what influence they could upon the old parties, and select their candidates from nominees already in the field. The conclusion reached found expression in the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That we intend not only that our votes shall express our sentiments, but that they shall give efficiency to our principles, and therefore we will not vote at the next November election for any man for the office of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, member of either House of the Legislature of Michigan, or Prosecuting Attorney, who is not known from his past history to be, from principle, in favor of prohibiting, by law, the manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

Another resolution recommended all friends of temperance to attend the Conventions of the parties to which they might be inclined, and exert all their influence to secure the nomination of none but reliable temperance men, and in case they did not succeed in getting such nominations, then to break loose from their party, and vote where their vote would best tell for temperance.

Although the temperance feeling was then strong, the thing that was uppermost in men's minds was the contest over the slavery question, and in the election following a large proportion of the men attending this Convention voted the Republican ticket. The Prohibitionists did not nominate a separate ticket in this State until 1870.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The Famous Gathering "Under the Oaks" at Jackson—The Result of Long Negotiations and Planning—An Immense Throng of Enthusiastic Voters—The Business Mostly Transacted Through Well-Selected Committees—The Platform One of the Ablest Documents of the Period—The Free Democratic Ticket Withdrawn and Part of It Renominated—The Result Favorably Received by Nearly All Whig and Free Soil Editors and Leaders—Subsequent Careers of Some of the Distinguished Men Who Figured in the Movement—A Summary of Claims Respecting the Naming of the Party.

The organization of the Republican party in Michigan is sometimes referred to as a spontaneous movement, and upon its surface it had something of that appearance. But in reality hardly a political movement in the Country was ever more carefully or skilfully worked up in advance. In the proceedings themselves care also was taken to preserve a fair balance between the Free Soil and Whig parties. In the organization, for instance, the Temporary Chairman was a Free Soiler. Isaac P. Christiancy had been proposed for Permanent Chairman, but as he also was a Free Soiler a Whig was substituted instead. It was taken for granted that Hovey K. Clarke, a zealous Free Soiler, and one of the most zealous workers in behalf of the Fusion would be retained on the ticket as Attorney General. But the ticket, up to that point had rather a preponderance of Free Soilers, and this fact had something to do with the fact that Jacob M. Howard, a Whig, was substituted for Mr. Clarke.

The wide circulation of the call, and the appeals to representative men of both parties to attend and aid in giving direction to the proceedings resulted in an unexpectedly large gathering, the number present being variously estimated at from 3,000 to 5,000. It was an unwieldy body, too large to conveniently transact business in a Parliamentary manner, and containing people of many discordant views. There were Whigs who desired to retain the old name and organization if possible, and Whigs who had been working for months to secure the abandonment of all old organizations and the formation of a new party. There were Free Soilers who distrusted the Whigs, and Free Soilers who had confidence in the general agreement of the Whig party with their own views. There were Anti-Nebraska Democrats, who were still

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in accord with their old party on every question except that of slavery. And there were temperance men, who wished to have the Maine Law given a prominent place in the campaign.

But upon one point all were agreed, hostility to the further extension of slavery over territory up to that time free. The disagreements of views were not obtrusively apparent, for the work was mostly done in Committees which were large and well selected.

The Convention met in the City Hall, and organized with the appointment of Levi Baxter, of Jonesville, as Temporary Chairmann, and Jeremiah Van Rensselaer as Temporary Secretary. Mr. Baxter was one of the pioneer settlers of Southern Michigan, a business man of great energy and large capacity, and the founder of the family which has since attained distinction in Michigan. He was an old Whig but joined the Free Soilers in 1848, and was elected to the State Senate by a combination of the two parties. While in the Senate he rendered an important service to Jonesville, by securing legislation which deflected the Michigan Southern railroad from its original line through that village. Chairman Baxter appointed the following Committee of two from each Congressional district on permanent organization: Samuel Barstow, of Wayne; H. Van Cleek, of Washtenaw; Isaac P. Christiancy, of Monroe; G. W. Burchard, of Hillsdale; Lovell Moore, of Kent; James W. Hill, of Calhoun; Henry W. Card, of Oakland; Newell Avery, of St. Clair.

As the hall was entirely inadequate to the accommodation of those assembled an adjournment was had to an oak grove on the outskirts of the village, where a platform was hastily erected. The scene, as the crowd moved toward the grove was an inspiring one. As far back as the eye could reach was a procession of men, with many women also. The grove itself was a beautiful piece of woods, situated on what was known as "Morgan's Forty," situated between the village and the race course. The scene there was an animated one, suggesting a huge picnic, the Jackson brass band enlivening the occasion with patriotic airs. The growth of the City of Jackson has since covered this historic spot with buildings, the High School building occupying a portion of it.

While the assembly at the grove were waiting for the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization speeches were made by Rev. Alanson St. Clair, Rev. Mr. Cook, of Oakland, and Prof. E. O. Haven, of Michigan University. The Committee reported the following officers and their report was accepted:

President—David S. Walbridge, of Kalamazoo.

Vice-Presidents—Fernando C. Beaman, of Lenawee; Col. Oliver Johnson, of Monroe; Rudolph Diefenbeck, of Wayne; Thomas Curtis, of Oakland; Chas. T. Gorham, of Calhoun; Pliny Power, of Wayne; Emanuel Mann, of Washtenaw; Chas. Draper, of Oakland; George Winslow, of Kalamazoo; Norman Little, of Saginaw; John McKinney, of Van Buren; W. W. Murphy, of Hillsdale.

Secretaries—Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and James F. Conover, of Wayne; George A. Fitch, of Kalamazoo; Chas. M. Croswell, of Lenawee; J. W. Sanborn, of St. Clair; J. B. Wheaton, of Hillsdale.

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It was then resolved, "That the electors from each Congressional District be requested to appoint three electors of their Districts, to meet with a like number similarly chosen from each of the other Congressional Districts for the purpose of drawing up and reporting to this Convention a platform of principles for their action. Leading members from the different Districts thereupon sorted themselves out, and selected the following strong committee:

First District—Jacob M. Howard and John Hilsendegen, of Wayne; Austin Blair, of Jackson; Donald McIntyre, of Washtenaw.

Second—Charles Noble, of Monroe; Alfred R. Metcalf, of St. Joseph; John W. Turner, of Branch; Levi Baxter, of Hillsdale.

Third—Marsh Giddings, of Kalamazoo; Erastus Hussey, of Calhoun; Albert Williams, of Ionia; John McKinney, of Van Buren.

Fourth—Chas. Draper, of Oakland; M. L. Higgins, of Flint; J. E. Simmonds and Zephaniah B. Knight, of Oakland.

While the Committee were absent speeches were made by Kinsley S. Bingham, Zachariah Chandler, Gen. Wm. T. Howell, Rev. C. C. Foote, Philotus Hayden, Rev. Jesse McBride, Rev. Alanson St. Clair, and Rev. Stephen S. Foster.

Mr. Chandler's speech was the one that particularly caught the meeting. It was terse but timely. He said in part: "Misfortunes make strange bedfellows. I see before me Whigs, Democrats and Free Soilers, all mingling together to rebuke a great National wrong. I was born a Whig; I have always lived a Whig, and I hope to die fighting for some of the good Whig doctrines. But I do not stand here as a Whig. I have laid aside party to rebuke treachery. In 1849 McClelland, Stuart and Bingham stumped the State advocating the doctrine of the Wilmot Proviso and pledging their lives, property and sacred honor in the maintenance of those doctrines, but not one of our representatives has ever been *honest* enough to carry them out except Kinsley S. Bingham." This reference to Mr. Bingham was received with thunders of applause, followed by three rousing cheers. It was taken as an indication that Mr. Chandler, one of the strongest of Whigs, was willing to support for Governor Mr. Bingham, an old Democrat, and only recently training in Free Soil ranks.

Another pleasing incident of the meeting was a speech by Lewis Clark, a Fugitive Slave, and the original of George Harris in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." He was the son of a Revolutionary soldier and a Kentucky colored girl, and was then living on a farm near Sandwich, Ontario. He told how at the death of his father the family was sold on the auction block, and how he escaped from slavery. According to Secretary Conover's official report of proceedings, "his earnest, plain, unlettered statement had a telling effect upon the company. He was loudly and frequently applauded."

The Committee on Resolutions withdrew to a clump of trees on the edge of the Oak Opening, about a dozen rods away from the platform, a point at which is now the intersection of Franklin and Second streets. Jacob M. Howard, who was the Chairman and master spirit of the Committee, had prepared a set of resolutions before leaving Detroit. These were read and were generally acceptable to the Committee,

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but Austin Blair thought they were too mild, and were lacking in another particular. They related wholly to National issues, while he was strongly of opinion that some attention should be paid also to State affairs. He offered two resolutions on these topics. Mr. Howard's platform was finally accepted by the Committee, with very slight changes, but Mr. Blair presented his State resolutions to the Convention in a minority report. This was tabled by the Convention, and the majority report was adopted almost unanimously, and with great enthusiasm. At a later stage of the proceedings Mr. Blair's two resolutions were taken from the table and adopted. As thus completed the first Republican platform ever put forth stood as follows:

The Freemen of Michigan, assembled in Convention in pursuance of a spontaneous call, emanating from various parts of the State, to consider upon the measures which duty demands of us as citizens of a free State, to take in reference to the late acts of Congress on the subject of slavery and its anticipated further extension, do

RESOLVE, That the Institution of Slavery, except in punishment of crime, is a great moral, social and political evil; that it was so regarded by the Fathers of the Republic, the founders and best friends of the Union, by the heroes and sages of the Revolution who contemplated and intended its gradual and peaceful extinction as an element hostile to the liberties for which they toiled; that its history in the United States, the experience of men best acquainted with its workings, the dispassionate confession of those who are interested in it; its tendnency to relax the vigor of industry and enterprise inherited in the white man; the very surface of the earth where it subsists; the vices and immoralities which are its natural growth; the stringent police, often wanting in humanity and speaking to the sentiments of every generous heart, which it demands; the danger it has already wrought and the future danger which it portends to the security of the Union and our Constitutional liberties—all incontestably prove it to be such evil. Surely that institution is not to be strengthened and encouraged against which Washington, the calmest and wisest of our Nation, bore unequivocal testimony; as to which Jefferson, filled with a love of liberty, exclaimed: "Can the liberties of a Nation be ever thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that their liberties are the GIFT OF GOD? that they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that His justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature and National means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest." And as to which another eminent patriot in Virginia, on the close of the revolution, also exclaimed: "Had we turned our eyes inwardly when we supplicated the Father of Mercies to aid the injured and oppressed, when we invoked the Author of righteousness to attest the purity of our motives and the justice of our cause, and implored the God of battles to aid our exertions in its defense, should we not have stood more self-convicted than the contrite publican?" We believe these sentiments to be as true now as they were then.

RESOLVED, That slavery is a violation of the rights of man as man; that the law of nature, which is the law of liberty, gives to no man rights superior to those of another: That God and nature have secured to each individual the inalienable right of equality, any violation of which must be the result of superior force; and that Slavery, therefore, is a perpetual war upon its victims; that whether we regard the institution

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as first originating in captures made in war, or the subjection of the debtor as the slave of his creditor, or the forcible seizure and sale of children by their parents or subjects by their king, and whether it be viewed in this Country as a "necessary evil" or otherwise, we find it to be, like imprisonment for debt, but a relic of barbarism as well as an element of weakness in the midst of the State, inviting the attack of external enemies, and a ceaseless cause of internal apprehension and alarm. Such are the lessons taught us, not only by the histories of other commonwealths, but by that of our own beloved Country.

RESOLVED, That the history of the formation of the Constitution, and particularly the enactment of the ordinance of July 13, 1787, prohibiting slavery north of the Ohio abundantly shows it to have been the purpose of our fathers not to promote but to prevent the spread of slavery. And, we, reverencing their memories, and cherishing free Republican faith as our richest inheritance, which we vow, at whatever expense, to defend, thus publicly proclaim our determination to oppose by all the powerful and honorable means in our power, now and henceforth, all attempts, direct or indirect, to extend slavery in this Country, or to permit it to extend into any region or locality in which it does not now exist by positive law, or to admit new Slave States into the Union.

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the United States gives to Congress full and complete power for the municipal government of the territories thereof, a power which from its nature cannot be either alienated or abdicated without yielding up to the territory an absolute political independence, which involves an absurdity; that the exercise of this power necessarily looks to the formation of States to be admitted into the Union; and on the question whether they shall be admitted as Free or Slave States Congress has a right to adopt such prudential and preventative measures as the principles of liberty and the interests of the whole country require; that this question is one of the gravest importance to the free States, inasmuch as the Constitution itself creates an equality in the apportionment of Representatives, greatly to the detriment of the free and to the advantage of the Slave States. This question, so vital to the interests of the Free States (but which we are told by certain political doctors of modern times is to be treated with utter indifference), is one which we hold it to be our right to discuss; which we hold it the duty of Congress in every instance to determine in unequivocal language, and in a manner to prevent the spread of slavery and the increase of such unequal representation. In short, we claim that the North is a party to the new bargain, and is entitled to have a voice and influence in settling its terms. And in view of the ambitious designs of the Slave Power, we regard the man or the party who would forego this right, as untrue to the honor and interest of the North and unworthy of its support.

RESOLVED, That the repeal of the "Missouri Compromise," contained in the recent act of Congress for the creation of the territories Nebraska and Kansas, thus admitting slavery into a region till then sealed against it by law, equal in extent to the 13 old states, is an act unprecedented in the history of the country, and one which must engage the earnest and serious attention of every Northen man. And as Northern freemen, independent of all former party ties, we here hold this measure up to the public execration for the following reasons:

That it is a plain departure from the policy of the fathers of the Republic in regard to slavery, and a wanton and dangerous frustration of their purposes and their hopes.

That it actually admits and was intended to admit slavery into said Territories, and thus (to use the words applied by Judge Tucker, of Virginia, to the fathers of

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that commonwealth) "sows the seeds of an evil which like leprosy hath descended upon their posterity with accumulated rancor, visiting the sins of the fathers upon succeeding generations." That it was sprung upon the country stealthily and by surprise, without necessity, without petition and without previous discussion, thus violating the cardinal principle of Republican Government, which requires all legislation to accord with the opinions and sentiments of the people.

That on the part of the South it is an open and undisguised breach of faith, as contracted between the North and South in the settlement of the Missouri question in 1820, by which the tranquility of the two sections was restored, a Compromise binding upon all honorable men.

That it is also an open violation of the Compromise of 1850, by which, for the sake of peace, and to calm the distempered impulse of certain enemies of the Union and at the South, the North accepted and acquiesced in the odious "Fugitive Slave Law" of that year.

That it is also an undisguised and unmanly contempt of the pledge given to the country by the present dominant party at their National Convention in 1852, not to "agitate the subject of slavery in or out of Congress," being the same Convention which nominated Franklin Pierce to the Presidency.

That it is greatly injurious to the free states, and to the territories themselves, tending to retard the settlement and to prevent the improvement of the country by means of free labor, and to discourage foreign immigrants resorting thither for their homes.

That one of its principal aims is to give to the Slave States such a decided and practical preponderance in all the measures of government as shall reduce the North, with all her industry, wealth and enterprise, to be the mere province of a few slave holding oligarchs of the South—to a condition too shameful to be contemplated.

Because, as openly avowed by its Southern friends, it is intended as an entering wedge to the still further augmentation of the slave power by the acquisition of the other territories, cursed with the same "leprosy."

RESOLVED, That the obnoxious measure to which we have alluded ought to be repealed, and a provision substituted for it, prohibiting slavery in said territories, and each of them.

RESOLVED, That after this gross breach of faith and wanton affront to us as Northern men, we hold ourselves absolved from all "compromises," except those expressed in the Constitution, for the protection of slavery and slave-owners; that we now demand measures of protection and immunity for ourselves, and among them we demand the REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, and an act to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

RESOLVED, That we notice without dismay certain popular indications by slaveholders on the frontier of said territories of a purpose on their part to prevent, by violence, the settlement of the country by non-slaveholding men. To the latter we say: Be of good cheer, persevere in the right, remember the Republican motto, "THE NORTH WILL DEFEND YOU."

RESOLVED, That postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by slavery, and a thousand miles of slave soil be thus interposed between the free states of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific, we will act cordially and faithfully in unison to avert and repeal this gigantic wrong and shame.

RESOLVED, That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of republican government, and against the schemes of aristocracy the most revolting and

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oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed, or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as REPUBLICANS until the contest be terminated.

RESOLVED, That we earnestly recommend the calling of a general convention of the Free States, and such of the Slaveholding States, or portions thereof, as may desire to be there represented, with a view to the adoption of other more extended and effectual measures in resistance to the encroachments of slavery; and that a committee of five persons be appointed to correspond and co-operate with our friends in other states on the subject.

RESOLVED, That in relation to the domestic affairs of the State we urge a more economical administration of the government and a more rigid accountability of the public officers, a speedy payment of the balance of the public debt, and the lessening of the amount of taxation, a careful preservation of the Primary School and University Funds, and their diligent application to the great objects for which they were created, and also further legislation to prevent the unnecessary or imprudent sale of the lands belonging to the State.

RESOLVED, That in our opinion the commercial wants require the enactment of a general railroad law, which, while it shall secure the investment and encourage the enterprise of stockholders, shall also guard and protect the rights of the public and of individuals, and that the preparation of such a measure requires the first talents of the State.

If these resolutions are mild, one can imagine what Mr. Blair's pronouncement must have been.

In accordance with the thoroughly democratic character of the assembly a resolution was adopted "That the electors here present from each senatorial district be requested to meet together, select delegates equal in number to the representatives in each district, who, when selected, shall constitute the committee of delegates, with power to nominate candidates for the State officers, to be reported to this Convention for ratification or rejection." In some of the districts the whole number of three were not appointed, but the Committee as finally constituted numbered 88, a sizeable convention in itself. It was composed as follows:

1. Horace Hallock, L. L. Jones, Jacob M. Howard.
2. S. A. Baker, George D. Hill, John Owen.
3. H. Woodruff, Rufus Thayer, E. J Penniman.
4. Moses Wisner, Nathan Power, Edward Simmons.
5. E. P. Jones, Charles Cogswell, Thomas Curtis.
6. C. Clark, D. D. Sloan, M. Kinney.
7. E. Curtis, T. Ford, J. W. Childs.
8. Chas. Noble, E. Sackett, John Knaggs.
9. Chas. M. Croswell, B. Turner, Edward Caniff.
10. Fernando C. Beaman, M. Eddy, Stephen Allen.
11. S. D. Treadwell, R. B. Rexford, John Patchin.
12. M. A. McNaughton, J. G. Mott.
13. Simeon French, D. Boughton, Chas. T. Gorham.
14. Charles Holmes, Nathan Pierce, Samuel S. Lacy.
15. E. Walter, Levi Baxter, W. W. Murphy.

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16. James M. Turner, J. B. Tompkins, H. G. Hurd.
17. H. T. Steele, F. W. May, A. R. Metcalf.
18. Joseph Harper, John Woodson, E. P. Slisbee.
19. Samuel Niles, A. Hyde, A. H. Morrison.
20. John R. Kellogg, P. Hayden, John McKinney.
21. F. W. Curtenius, George Winslow, Nathan M. Thomas.
22. Johnson Montgomery, H. H. Hatch, Peter Doos.
23. A. Cahill.
24. E. Seeley, Ephraim Prince, Wm. H. Stuart.
25. Randolph Strickland, Wm. Utley, Albert Williams.
26. Whitney Jones, David M. Bagley, E. Rumery.
27. J. P. Dillingham, H. Lee, A. W. Curtis.
28. M. L. Higgins, J. W. King, Chas. Draper.
29. Jason Steele, J. P. Mussey, C. A. Shaw.
30. Wm. Canfield, A. L. Bingham.
31. J. W. Sanborn, Newell Avery.

The duty of this committee was a delicate one. It was almost certain that its report would be accepted by the Convention, so that upon its shoulders really rested the whole responsibility of naming the ticket. It was desirable not only to have a ticket that was intrinsically strong, but one that should recognize all three of the parties to the affiliation, Whigs, Free Soilers and Anti-Nebraska Democrats. Immediately upon the adoption of the resolutions, the committee of sixteen from the Kalamazoo convention withdrew the whole Free Soil ticket, but it was quite generally accepted as advisable that Kinsley S. Bingham should continue to be the candidate for Governor. Two other of the old candidates were renominated, those for State Treasurer and Commissioner of the State Land Office. It was fully expected that Hovey K. Clarke, who had been one of the most zealous promoters of the Fusion, would be renominated for Attorney General. But when this office was reached W. W. Murphy sprung a surprise on the Committee by making a few earnest and enthusiastic remarks, and in ending named for the place "that eminent lawyer and statesman, honest Jake Howard." The nomination was then made by acclamation in spite of the protests of Mr. Howard. The striking ability with which he conducted the affairs of this ill-paid office for three successive terms had much to do with his subsequent political advancement. The ticket finally agreed upon by the Committee was as follows:

Governor—Kingsley S. Bingham, of Livingston.
Lieutenant Governor—George A. Coe, of Branch.
Secretary of State—John McKinney, of Van Buren.
State Treasurer—Silas M. Holmes, of Wayne.
Attorney General—Jacob M. Howard, of Wayne.
Auditor General—Whitney Jones, of Ingham.
Commissioner of State Land Office—Seymour B. Treadwell, of Jackson.
Superintendent of Public Instruction—Ira Mayhew, of Monroe.

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Members of the State Board of Education—John R. Kellogg, of Allegan, and Hiram L. Miller, of Saginaw.

Immediately after the appointment of the Nominating Committee in the afternoon the meeting adjourned to reassemble in Bronson's Hall at 8:30 o'clock. At that time speeches were made by Austin Blair, Hovey K. Clarke, Isaac P. Christiancy, Dr. Curtis and Mr. Steele, and the following State Central Committee was appointed: Samuel P. Mead, Samuel Barstow, Wm. R. Noyes and Pliny Power, of Wayne; George W. Lee, of Livingston; Fernando C. Beaman, of Lenawee; Donald McIntyre, of Washtenaw; Isaac P. Christiancy, of Monroe; John McKinney, of Van Buren. A committee was also appointed, consisting of Samuel Barstow, U. Tracy Howe, Hovey K. Clarke and Buckminster Wight, to solicit by correspondence the co-operation of other states in the movement.

The papers of 50 years ago gave disappointingly meager reports of conventions, especially of the speeches. The report of the proceedings of this momentous gathering furnished by the Detroit Democrat was prepared by Mr. Conover, one of the secretaries of the Convention, and may be considered as in some sense official. It barely gave the names of the speakers, without even an abstract of their remarks and closed its account as follows:

The announcement of the names of the candidates was received with vociferous applause. The ticket seemed to give universal satisfaction, and was a most successful completion of the object of perhaps the largest, certainly, considering all circumstances, the most harmonious, Convention that ever assembled in the State. The Hon. K. S. Bingham was rapturously called for, and came forward and addressed the Convention in the most happy manner. He was evidently affected by the distinguished favor which placed his name, unsolicited by him, in the paramount position it occupies as first on the ticket. The business of the Convention being now concluded, it adjourned sine die, and thus ended a Convention which for honorable conduct, and harmonious and effective action may well serve as a model for future gatherings of a similar character.

Editorially the Democrat said the next day: "We never saw in any deliberative body so strong a desire for harmony manifested. Every member of the Convention seemed to have come there resolved upon conciliation and tranquil action. There was scarcely a dissenting voice from the action resolved upon." The paper then referred to the large vote by which the nominations were made and continued:

The Convention has performed a most important work for this State. As there can be attributed to the Convention nothing of a partisan or time-serving character, so its action must command the confidence of all real lovers of freedom and independence in the State. It emanated strictly from the people, and it was controlled by the people, and its action reflects their sentiments. The platform is specific, bold and uncompromising, and not only received the most cordial approval of the Convention, but will command universal respect. * * * With such a ticket, emanating from such a Convention, we cannot be unsuccessful. It will inspire the confidence of freemen in the State, not by its intrinsic merit only, but by the purely republican manner in which it was selected. We are confident that the people who nominated it will see that it is triumphantly elected.

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The Detroit Tribune, of course, approved the platform and supported the ticket with hopefulness and enthusiasm. They were but the fruition of the plant for which Editor Warren had helped sow the seed, and which he had most assiduously watered and cultivated. He had been maligned and personally abused by the rival Whig organ for the part he had taken in the movement, and it was immensely gratifying to him to find the result all that he had wished or hoped for.

A. B. Turner, of the Grand Rapids Eagle, was one of the secretaries of the Convention, was touched with the contagion of its enthusiasm, and in his paper reflected its spirit.

C. V. DeLand, of the Jackson citizen, had done a good deal of the practical work of arranging for the Convention and conciliating the opposition. He felt a natural pride in the result and entered with zeal upon the campaign. He gave in his paper some interesting details of the gathering, and added this comment: "The platform was drawn by the Hon. Jacob M. Howard, and unanimously adopted as it came from his pen, and we are willing to add our feeble testimony that it not only does credit to its author, but challenges comparison with any political paper of the day." The Citizen also had this reference to Mr. Chandler's remarks: "When in the course of his speech he gave a brief history of the Wilmot Proviso in Michigan, alluding to the Anti-Slavery resolutions passed by the Democratic State Convention in 1849, and the resolutions of instructions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress by the Legislature on the same subject, and then exclaimed that not one of the Representatives had ever been honest enough to carry them out except Kinsley S. Bingham, a spark of enthusiasm fired the crowd, the shout of approbation ran through the vast assembly, and if any doubt had previously existed as to who should be the man, that doubt was then removed."

Among the Whig editors who heartily supported the movement, though less conspicuous in it than those already mentioned, was Rufus Hosmer, one of the most noted newspaper wits of the day. He left the Advertiser in January, 1854, because he was dissatisfied with the course of that paper, and aided in starting the Enquirer. After about a year the latter was merged in the Free Democrat, and Hosmer got control of the Advertiser, which he made radically Republican. The best editorial work of his lifetime was done during the next two years, which included the Fremont campaign of 1856.

In its personnel the Convention was a most remarkable one. There has never been another gathering in Michigan at which were assembled so many men who afterwards attained distinction in public, official or business life. It was a time of great interest and excitement, based upon an issue that had both a moral and economic bearing. It naturally called out the strong men of the State, young and old, and the events that followed within the next decade gave them unusual opportunities.

Among those who signed the call, or are known to have been at the Convention, were five who afterwards became United States Senators, and one other who was appointed to that honorable position, but who declined the honor.

During 22 out of the next 28 years the gubernatorial chair of Michigan was occu-

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pied by men who were present at the Convention, two others had in previous campaigns received nominations from the old parties, and one afterwards received the Republican nomination, but was defeated.

Among the signers to the call or attendants at the Convention were fourteen men, and probably more, who, before or after that time, were members of Congress; three distinguished jurists, besides a large number of circuit judges; three foreign ministers, and a host who afterwards filled minor State offices, or who served in one or both branches of the Legislature.

The most conspicuous figure in the Convention was Jacob M. Howard, the first Whig Congressman from Michigan, elected in 1840; author of the first Republican platform ever promulgated; Attorney General from 1855 to 1861; United States Senator from 1862 to 1871; noted in the Senate as a great constitutional lawyer, and sole author of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, as his most fitting memorial, is inscribed on his tombstone in Elmwood cemetery.

The most conspicuous Free Soiler in the convention was Isaac P. Christiancy, who had done more than any one else to bring his own party into the mood for affiliation with the Whigs. He was the Free Soil candidate for Governor in 1852, Justice of the Supreme Court from 1858 till 1875, United States Senator 1875 till 1879, and Minister to Peru, appointed in the latter year.

The man who was more than any one else in the thoughts of members of the Convention was Kingsley S. Bingham, Member of Congress from 1847 to 1851; Governor from 1855 to 1859, and United States Senator from 1859 to 1861. He died in the latter year, lamented by all, the best-loved public man of his generation in Michigan.

Zachariah Chandler, though destined to a greater prominence in National affairs than any of the others, was then rather fresh in politics. Though prominent in Detroit business and social circles, he was never a candidate for office until 1851, when he accepted the Whig nomination for Mayor, and organized such a fast campaign that he beat, by a good majority, Gen. John R. Williams, who had held the office six terms, and who was considered invincible. Mr. Chandler accepted the Whig nomination for Governor in 1852, was 800 votes ahead of the candidate of his own party for President, and from 500 to 4,000 votes ahead of his associates on the State ticket. He was United States Senator from 1857 to 1875 and again in 1879, and was Secretary of the Interior during the last part of President Grant's term.

The fifth of the United States Senators in the Convention was Henry P. Baldwin, who first became known in politics by his efficient and useful work as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the State Senate during the first two years of the war. He was Governor from January, 1869, to 1873, and was appointed United States Senator upon the death of Senator Chandler in 1879. Fernando C. Beaman first received this appointment, but after holding it under advisement for a few days, declined the honor.

Those named comprised the list of United States Senators. The Governors who took part in this movement were, in the order of their term of service, Kinsley S.

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Bingham, Moses Wisner, Austin Blair, Henry P. Baldwin, John J. Bagley and Chas. M. Croswell. James M. Turner, who was on the nominating committee at this Convention, was the Republican candidate for Governor in 1890, but was defeated.

The eminent jurists, aside from Mr. Christiancy, were Halmer H. Emmons, for many years a distinguished Judge of the United States Circuit Court, and the venerable Henry Chipman, who was a Judge of the Territorial Supreme Court from 1827 to 1832, and who now, at the age of 70, came to give aid and encouragement to the new movement.

The foreign ministers, aside from Mr. Christiancy, were Chas. T. Gorham and Walton W. Murphy.

The Members of Congress, whose names appear in connection with the Convention, with their terms of service, were: Jacob M. Howard, March 4, 1841-3; Kinsley S. Bingham, 1847-51; Ebenezer J. Penniman, 1851-3; Wm. A. Howard, 1855-61; David S. Walbridge, 1855-9; Henry Waldron, 1855-9; DeWitt C. Leach, 1857-61, Fernando C. Beaman, 1861-71; Chas. Upson, 1863-9; Austin Blair, 1867-73; Wm. L. Stoughton, 1869-73; Randolph Strickland, 1869-71; Moses W. Field, 1873-5; George Willard, 1873-7; Wm. B. Williams, 1873-7; Allen Potter, 1875-7; Henry W. Lord, 1881-3; Herschel H. Hatch, 1883-5; Byron G. Stout, 1891-3.

The accounts that have been given of the naming of the Republican Party are quite diverse and interesting. Joseph Warren's statement, made in a letter to tne Detroit Post and Tribune in 1879, was as follows: "The honor of having named and christened the party the writer has always claimed, and now insists, belongs jointly to Jacob M. Howard, Horace Greeley and himself. Soon after the writer began to advocate, through the columns of the Tribune, the organization of all opponents of slavery into a single party, Horace Greeley voluntarily opened a correspondence with him in regard to the movement, in which he frankly communicated his views and gave him many valuable suggestions as to the best course to be pursued. This correspondence was necessarily very short, as it began and ended in June, it being only five weeks from the repeal of the Compromise, May 30, to the Jackson Convention. In his last letter, received only a day or two before it was to assemble, Mr. Greeley suggested to him Republican. This meeting the writer's cordial approval, he gave Mr. Greeley's letter containing the suggestions to Mr. Howard on the day of the Convention after he had been appointed Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and advised its adoption, and this was done."

Jacob M. Howard's recollection of the matter was thus stated by him: After the call for the Convention he drew up a series of resolutions which he thought suitable for adoption but left a blank for the name of the new party. Meantime Mr. Warren had some correspondence with Horace Greeley on the subject of the Convention, and Mr. Greeley forwarded a set of resolutions, not knowing that Mr. Howard was engaged in the same work, and suggested the name Democratic-Republican. At the Convention Mr. Howard's resolutions were reported by the committe of which he was chairman. The matter of name came before the Convention in the

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form of a motion to insert the one proposed by Mr. Greeley. Mr. Howard moved to amend by striking out the word Democratic, and his motion was adopted.

C. V. DeLand, in a letter to the Detroit Tribune of Oct. 24, 1898, said: "The honor of naming the party belongs to Zephaniah B. Knight, then editor of the Pontiac Gazette. He proposed it at the February conference and advocated it steadily. He was one of the Committee on Platform at the Jackson Convention, and moved its adoption by that committee, and it was decided favorably by a vote of eleven for Republican to five for Union."

The associates of George A. Fitch in the local movements of that period claim that about the time of the Kalamazoo County mass meeting, which was held March 11, a compact was made in writing between leading Free Soilers and Liberal Whigs for an independent organization and a division of the local nominations; that the name "Republican" was given to the party in the compact, and that Mr. Fitch retained a copy of this paper for many years. There is no means of verifying or disputing these statements.

These are the Michigan claims, but a very strong one comes from Wisconsin. At the time of the Convention which nominated Scott for the Presidency in 1852, Alvin E. Bovay, a resident of the little town of Ripon, in that State, predicted to Horace Greeley the nomination of Scott and his overwhelming defeat at the polls, and said also that the Whigs would never rally again as a National party. Greeley declared that General Scott would not only be nominated but triumphantly elected, when Bovay went on to say that, in his opinion, the Whig party had outlived its usefulness; that its vitality was gone; that its issues no longer commanded the attention of the country; that after its defeat in the coming election the party, with its organization and its issues, would disappear, and that a party would arise on its ruins whose banner would be "Exclusion of slavery from the territories." In answer to a question from Greeley, Mr. Bovay said that he would call the new party Republican for the following reasons:

1. Because political parties should have significant names, and this is significant of the thing which we wish to symbolize—Res publica—the common weal.

2. The name should be single, not double, like Free-Soil, Free-Democrat, Liberty-Party, etc.

3. It should be flexible, that is, capable of being used as either noun or adjective, and of ready use in its application to a party or to an individual.

4. It was used by the party of Jefferson in its best and purest days, when it was really the friend and not the enemy of the human race, and it has left a hallowed memory behind it.

5. It is a cherished name with our foreign population of every nationality. They call themselves Republicans, Republicaines, Republikaner, Republicanos, or by some modification of it in all European countries, and this name meets them here like a good friend.

On the 20th of March, 1854, a public meeting was held at Ripon, the second of a series, and by formal vote the town committees of the Whig and Free Soil parties

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were formally dissolved, and a new committee was appointed consisting of three Whigs, one Free Soiler and one Democrat. At this meeting Mr. Bovay said the new party should and probably would take the name Republican, though he advised against such a christening at that time, and by such a small body of men. Mr. Bovay had already opened correspondence with Mr. Greeley, urging that the Tribune propose the name Republican for the new anti-slavery party that might be formed, but it was not until June 24 that Greeley complied with his request.

Finally, McLaughlin's Life of Lewis Cass says: "In May, immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, some thirty Congressmen at Washington met and considered the formation of the 'Republican' party. By that time the name was in the air."

The truth of the matter seems to be that Mr. Bovay suggested the name to Greeley, Greeley to Warren, and Warren passed it along to Jacob M. Howard. It is undoubtedly also true that the same name had suggested itself to others. It was "in the air," but the Jackson Convention of July 6 was the first to give it an abiding place in a party platform.

Although Mr. Greeley is credited with having recommended the name Republican to the Jackson Convention, he did not himself especially fancy it, and in his Almanac, which, by the way, changed its name the next year from the Whig to the Tribune Almanac, he did not mention the formation of the Republican party among the important political events of the year 1854, although he devoted two pages to the organization and achievements of the ephemeral Know-Nothing organization.

It is an interesting fact also that in the general break-up of parties in the elections of 1854 the opposition to the Democracy called themselves Republicans in only seven states. Of these, five were the states that were carved out of the Northwest Territory, which had been dedicated to perpetual freedom by the ordinance of 1787, and the sixth was Iowa, immediately adjoining that territory. The seventh was Maine, which, after applying for admission to the Union in 1820, was kept dancing attendance on Congress until Missouri also could be admitted under the Compromise, whose abrogation occasioned all the excitement at this time.

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CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN.

Whig Disaffection Threatens Disastrous Results, But the Evil is Happily Averted—The Last of the Old Whig Party—The Democrats Hold a Spiritless Convention, But Conduct a Vigorous Campaign—The Last Great Efforts of General Cass—Warm Fights in the Congressional Districts—A Sweeping Republican Victory, the First of a Long Succession—Resume of the Gubernatorial Vote in Michigan from that Day to This—The Roster of Republican Senators and Representatives in Congress—The Election of 1854 in Other States.

Amidst the general rejoicing at the result of the Jackson Convention there was one tale of woe, one note of discord. The Detroit Advertiser of June 26 had said editorially:

In another column will be found a call for a Convention of the people of Michigan without distinction of party to assemble on the sixth of July next "to take such action as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment of this State against the encroachments of the slave power." Among the signatures published will be found the names of many good and true Whigs, as well as of numerous Free Soilers and Democrats, of character and influence.

Now what is the duty of those who have, whether inconsiderately or otherwise, put their names to this call? One answer only seems clear to our mind, viz.: They must in person attend the Convention, or in default thereof, acquiesce in and support the final action of such Convention. It is an established principle that all who have lent themselves to any movement of a political character, are bound to obey the will and action of the majority of those with whom they undertake to co-operate, unless they shall be present at the time of such action, and then and there formally protest against the same.

Fellow Whigs! Those of you we mean who have engaged in this movement, no matter from what motive, or with what end in view, see to it that your real views and ardent wishes are truly and properly represented and carried out at the Jackson meeting! See to it that the efforts of designing men and intriguing politicians are not allowed, through your supineness, to defeat the only object contemplated by you when you signed the call.

The paper continued to print the call, and on the sixth of July printed nearly

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four double columns of the names which had been attached to it. On the fourth it also had this editorial appeal:

The indications now are that the Convention will be largely attended and that every part of the State will be represented. We believe that in a multitude of counsel there is safety, and we shall expect nothing but beneficial results from the action of the meeting. If such men attend as we expect will be present, judicious counsels will prevail. The path to be pursued is so simple and plain, that no one except the heated partisan would be willing to travel out of it. There is one principle on which we are all united, and which the convention was called to assert. It is the rock on which all can stand. If they are contented with that there will be no difficulty. We think the Convention will rightly comprehend its interests and its mission, and will so act as to commend itself favorably to the citizens of the State. We sincerely hope it will, and that the crowning results of its labors will be the means of great and lasting good to the people of Michigan.

But things did not go to suit it at the Convention, and on the 8th it gave this repudiation of the action at Jackson:

We publish to-day the proceedings and an account of the Jackson Convention. Previous to its meeting we called upon Whigs to attend it. We looked to their influence as the only means to promote the interests of the people. The indications were that a sufficient number of Whigs would be present to exert a conservative and beneficial influence. All these signs were false. The Convention was controlled by Free Soilers and those Whigs who desire to break up the Whig party. Everything the Free Democrats desired they obtained. They went into the meeting with a ticket in the field; they procured the adoption of just such planks as they desired; they knew the re-nomination of Kinsley S. Bingham was a foregone conclusion, and then their committee withdrew their nominations. What a mockery! The new ticket contains the names of four of the Free Soil candidates. In fact, the Free Democrats had everything their own way. They even went so far as to christen the party by the name "Republican" as a permanent organization, with the intent, of course, of breaking up the Whig party. Under these circumstances, are Whigs going to endorse the proceedings of the Convention and support its nominations? Some may, but we do not believe the great body of them will. At any rate we shall oppose uncompromisingly, with whatever ability we possess, the ticket which has been thus nominated, and we call upon all good and true Whigs to do the same.

This editorial was the incentive to a movement for calling a convention of Old Line Whigs, and putting a separate ticket in the field, a course which, at one time threatened very serious consequences. Under its influence many of the Whigs held off from the new movement, and in August a circular was issued, addressed to the Whig State Convention in the following wording: "We, the undersigned, more than ever impressed with the responsibility resting upon the men of the Whig party, and entertaining a high sense of their obligations to take such action as is necessary to advance the principles, maintain and strengthen the organization and preserve the integrity of that party, respectfully request that you will issue a call for a Whig state convention, to be held at an early day, for the purpose of securing these important objects, and of presenting a Whig State ticket to be supported by the people of Michigan at the next State election."

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The State Central Committee consisted of Wm. A. Howard, Wm. Burnett, F. W. Curtenius, N. W. Brooks and George M. Dewey. They were all in sympathy with the Republican party movement, but the petition, which was circulated in every county, was so numerously signed that they could not ignore it. The call was finally issued in August, and was as follows:

The Whig State Convention for the nomination of candidates for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor-General, Treasurer, Commissioner of the Land Office, Attorney-General, Superintendent of Public Instruction, one member of the State Board of Education for the full term, and to fill vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. Isaac E. Crary, and for the transaction of such other business as may come before it, will be held on Wednesday, the 4th day of October next, at the Court House in the Village of Marshall. The several counties are requested to be represented by delegates in double the number of the Representatives to which they are respectively entitled in the Legislature of this State. Full delegations from all the counties are requested.

This demand for a separate Whig Convention was viewed with great alarm by the leaders of the new party. If any considerable portion of the Whig vote could be diverted from the ticket already nominated it meant defeat. But by calling the Convention at so late a date opportunity was given the Republicans to perfect their organization and concentrate their forces. When the Convention finally met, attended by about 200 delegates, it proved to be under the absolute control of that portion of the Whigs that favored union with the Republicans. Rufus Hosmer, editor of the Detroit Enquirer, who had been appointed to fill a vacancy on the Republican State Central Committee, was made President of the Convention, with Nathan Pierce of Calhoun, Charles Yost of Washtenaw, D. C. Buckland of Oakland and Edward D. Cone of Hillsdale as Vice-Presidents. Levi Bacon, of Oakland and L. L. Jones of Wayne were Secretaries.

The committee appointed to name a State Central Committee reported a list which included Joseph Warren, of Detroit, and this gave opportunity for the first showing of hands. A motion was made to substitute the name of E. N. Wilcox, and upon this there was a long and acrimonious discussion. Mr. Warren was bitterly assailed on account of his zeal and activity in promoting the Jackson Convention, and the calling of local Republican Conventions throughout the State, but in the end he was retained.

E. A. Wales, proprietor of the Advertiser, subsequently moved that Mr. Warren be expelled from the Convention on the ground that he had ceased to be a Whig, but this motion received only four votes, that of Mr. Wales, General A. S. Williams and two others, all from Detroit. Mr. Wales then filed a protest against the action of the Convention in choosing for its presiding officer a man who was "the avowed Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee" and for the other sins which it had already committed and for those which it was about to commit, or, as he expressed, it for "other action had or to be taken, which is not strictly in accordance with Whig precedents, Whig principles and Whig organization." Having filed this protest, Mr. Wales and his three followers withdrew from the Convention.

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Thenceforward all was harmonious. No nominations were made, but a stirring address was prepared, referring to the glorious history and principles of the Whig party and to the need of concerted and united action in opposition to the spread of slavery. This was drawn by James A. Van Dyke as Chairman of a Committee appointed for that purpose, and was signed by the committee and by the President and many other members of the Convention, including Levi Bacon, Randolph Strickland, Eugene Pringle, Robert P. Toms, Joseph Warren, George Jerome, Henry W. Lord, Samuel G. Caskey, Isaac W. Ingersoll, Austin Blair, Byron G. Stout and M. A. MacNaughton. As the last pronouncement of the Whig party in Michigan, and the last declaration of Anti-Slavery principles in this campaign, it possesses great interest. It spoke first of the attachment which its members had to the old Whig party and said: "Had its counsels but prevailed and its voice been obeyed, instead of the harsh and angry discord now rending the land, sounds of harmony and union alone would have been heard. Instead of the hot fever that now scorches our country's brow, and pours its lava through her veins, the calm of peace would smooth its front, and the the pulse of friendship beat through its utmost limits."

The address then gave, at great length and with florid rhetoric, an account of the gradual encroachments of the slave power and continued:

We do now declare that we regard slavery as an evil from every point of view, debasing to free labor, antagonistic to free institutions, a barrier to high progress and advancement, and a blot upon our country's escutcheon.

We are unalterably opposed to its extension over one inch of territory now free.

We demand the repeal of so much of the Kansas and Nebraska Act as annuls the Missouri Compromise.

We declare our opposition to the admission of another Slave State into the Union.

We avow our solemn determination to exercise every constitutional right to check the encroachments of slavery and to spread far and wide the blessings of humanity and freedom.

We believe that the great aim of the Whig party has been the promotion of the prosperity and glory of our beloved country. From this holy purpose neither defeat nor adverse fortune has ever been able to swerve it. It has no selfish mission to perform, no personal aggrandizement to accomplish. And while its members have clung with chivalric adhesion to its principles and its existence, through its darkest hour, no mere party pride can control its course when the common good demands and points out its action.

Love of country, lofty and ennobling, has been the altar at which it has worshiped, and at whose shrine it has ever been ready to lay down mere selfish objects. We believe the occasion has now presented itself for a display of patriotism. We cannot, however, refrain from declaring that, now as ever, it would have been inspiring to us, to inscribe "Whig" upon our banner, and fight beneath its honored folds. But at this crisis and under all existing circumstances, we feel that we must not consult our individual preferences and personal wishes, but ask what course will most redound to the honor and welfare of our country, and the advancement of those liberal, just and elevated principles of which we believe our party to be the embodiment.

The issue is before us. The vital problem must soon be solved, whether the

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spirit of Freedom shall light up the annals of our country and brighten the story of mankind, or whether slavery shall be broad and spread to blight the hopes of humanity, and darken the pages of our history.

We are convinced that the path of duty is plain before us. We are called upon, not to abandon the Whig flag, not to forsake a single Whig principle, but to make a deep sacrifice for our country's sake. We propose merely to abstain from making distinct nominations at this time, so that all the friends in the cause of liberty, feeling alike on the absorbing issue now pending, may together strike and achieve a glorious triumph.

We, therefore, respectfully but earnestly appeal to the Whigs of Michigan to take that course in the coming contest which will best unite, combine, develop and evidence the free and true spirit of the North.

Let us throw all distraction to the winds, forget all minor differences, and exhibit the glorious spectacle of a patriotic band of freemen, arousing at the trumpet call of Liberty, with a free soil beneath our feet, and freedom's banner over us, marching forward in solid, united and invincible column to battle and to victory.

The action of the Convention was not satisfactory to some of the Whigs, and the Advertiser, which represented the recalcitrants, had this comment upon it:

Those who favor the election of the Republican ticket had the entire control and pursued such a course as they deemed expedient. The business was conducted in a manner which, we think, has no precedent to support it. The only feature which characterized the Convention as Whig and preserved it on the record from degenerating into a mere Republican meeting, was the address which was prepared and delivered by James A. Van Dyke, who came forward boldly and threw the weight of his personal influence as well as his intellect in favor of preserving the principles and organization of the party. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon this gentleman and a few others, who labored most strenuously to check the course of the headstrong, and bring about conciliation and concord. Had their counsel been followed by those who had the control of the Convention everything would have passed off smoothly. As it is, there is cause for dissatisfaction which will produce its effect. No one regrets this more than we do. We yet hope that a little time may heal the discords of our party, that those who have given allegiance to another organization may return to their old love. This, we hope, but whether our wishes shall be realized or not, our own course is plain. We shall pursue the even tenor of our way, exerting whatever influence we may have to forward Whig principles and Whig measures, and to preserve the integrity of the Whig party.

The Advertiser, with, however, but slight following, maintained its course consistently to the end. It kept at the head of its columns the Wayne County Whig ticket, and the candidates for Congress who were nominated by separate Whig and Republican Conventions, but it never conceded that the Republican State ticket was entitled to Whig support. It continued to abuse Bingham throughout the campaign, and at the finish referred merely to the Congressional elections as a Waterloo defeat for the Democratic party.

But the Whigs had held their last State Convention in Michigan. Joseph Warren was elected Chairman of the State Central Committee and, as such, was alone authorized to call another Convention whenever he might deem it expedient. But as no body except a State Convention could depose him from the chairmanship and as

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he never saw fit to call a Convention, he held the key to the situation. He said twenty-five years later that he still carried the Whig party of Michigan in his pocket.

It is a noticeable fact that comparatively few of the papers which, in that campaign, put up the ticket called it Republican, although the Convention formally adopted that name. The ticket was generally placed at the head of the editorial columns without any party name attached or as the "Independent ticket." The Democratic papers, on the other hand, incessantly thrust the name Republican forward, apparently with the view of constantly reminding their Whig readers that they had lost not only their distinctive organization but even their name. The Detroit Free Press especially delighted in rubbing these facts into the tender skin of the Advertiser.

The Detroit organ of the Democracy, then owned and edited by Wilbur F. Storey, adored General Cass, and had no particular liking for anyone else, hated Joseph Warren and Rufus Hosmer, supported the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and detested all Anti-Slavery agitators. It sneered at the movement which culminated in the Jackson Convention, belittled the Convention when it was held, and afterwards bitterly attacked the ticket. Two days before the Convention was held it commenced an editorial with the statement, "We are a little curious to see the platform of the 'fusion' convention at Jackson," but it never printed any portion of the platform and its news columns gave scant space to the proceedings of the Convention. Editorially it denounced that gatnering as "a body of unmitigated abolitionists and disunionists," and either ridiculed or abused tne candidates, Kinsley S. Bingham and Jacob M. Howard coming in for an especially large share of its malicious attacks. Mr. Howard it called "the midwife and chief priest at the birth and christening of the Republican party" and Mr. Chandler its "traveling agent."

The call for the Democratic State Convention was issued July 26th, and was signed by Alfred Williams, C. O'Flynn, D. Munger, A. T. McReynolds, Talcott E. Wing, A. L. Porter, Jacob Beeson, Frederick Hall and H. Carter. It contained no reference to the principles of the party, nor to current political issues.

The Convention was held in the City Hall, Detroit, September 14, with Anthony Ten Eyck of Wayne in the chair. On the first ballot John S. Barry was nominated for Governor, receiving 120 votes, to 10 for Andrew Parsons and 11 for Michael Shoemaker. Mr. Barry was accounted the best vote-getter among the Democrats of his time. He had already held the office for which he was now again put forward three times, commencing Jan. 3, 1842, Jan. 1, 1844, and Jan. 7, 1850. He was a native of Vermont, a farmer, prudent and economical in his administrations. He was called narrow, but that seemed to be what the people wanted after the Wildcat banking and Internal Improvement speculation of the period which preceded his first administration. He was responsible more than any other one man for the restrictive features of the Constitution of 1850. The rest of the ticket was fairly strong in its personnel.

The platform consisted of four resolutions, of which three related to State affairs,

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and the fourth resolved, "That the delegated Democracy of the State of Michigan here affirm their continued support of the principles embraced in the resolutions adopted by the Democratic National Convention which assembled in Baltimore in June, 1852, and that the doctrine of congressional non-intervention in the domestic legislation of the States and Territories therein embodied, harmonizes with the true spirit of our institutions, and it is the only platform upon which the Democratic party of the Union can maintain its nationality and its ascendancy and preserve the Union."

The Baltimore platform of 1852, which was here reaffirmed, contained the clause, "The Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made." Inasmuch as the whole excitement at this time was occasioned by the violation, in the most aggravating form, of this pledge, the Democrats were at a disadvantage in the debates that followed.

From this time on the campaign was a very warm one. The great Democratic leader in Michigan realized the fact that the result of this campaign meant political life or death to him. General Cass had, for forty years, been the foremost citizen of Michigan. He was Governor of the Territory for thirteen years, and contributed more than anyone else to the advancement of its material interests. He had represented the State in the United States Senate, had been a cabinet officer, Minister to France, and his party's Presidential candidate. But in the campaign of 1848 he had given a somewhat halting utterance on the question of internal improvements, a subject which was every year becoming of greater importance; and he had failed to keep up with the growing anti-slavery sentiment of the State. It was claimed for him that he, and not Stephen A. Douglas, was the real author of the Squatter Sovereignty doctrine, a claim that did not help him in this emergency. He was put forward in this campaign to address a few mass meetings. He made some strong appeals, and one really great speech, but it became apparent in the course of the campaign that his political star was paling before the rising lights of Jacob M. Howard and Zachariah Chandler.

The fights in the Congressional districts attracted the most attention. In the first, David Stuart, who was accounted one of the foremost political orators of the time, was renominated. He had, at an early day, made strong speeches in advocacy of the doctrine expressed in the Wilmot Proviso, but, afterwards, under party pressure, had proved recreant to his own convictions and to the people, and had voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Pitted against him was Wm. A. Howard, who was nominated by a regular Whig convention at Ann Arbor, Sept. 20, and by a fusion mass convention at Detroit the same day. Howard was urged for the nomination on the ground that he was "the only man in the first district who could meet Dave Stuart on the stump." Four joint discussions were arranged between them, at Detroit, Ann Arbor, Howell and Jackson, respectively, and immense crowds gathered to listen to these memorable oratorical contests. It was in these that Mr Howard fully established his reputation as one of the most effective campaign speakers in the Northwest.

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In the second district on the tenth of October the Whigs nominated Henry Waldron, who also received the Republican nomination. Mr. Waldron was already well known as a capable business man, active in politics and a good talker. In the third district the Republicans and Whigs united on David S. Walbridge, of Kalamazoo, who received the nomination from the latter party October 3. Mr. Walbridge was one of the pioneers of Southwestern Michigan, where he had large business interests. He had represented Kalamazoo in the lower house of the State Legislature four terms and in the State Senate two, and was selected as a representative Whig. Moses Wisner, afterwards Governor, and a gallant soldier, was nominated September 20 as the Whig and Republican candidate in the fourth district. The Democratic candidates were David Stuart in the first, David A. Noble in the second, Samuel Clark in the third, and George W. Peck in the fourth. Two years before this the Democrats had carried every Congressional district, the first by 757 majority, the second by 657, the third by 796 and the fourth by 1,798. In this election they lost three of the districts, the vote being as follows:

First district—Wm. A. Howard, 9,877, David Stuart, 8,793; Howard's majority, 1,144. Second—Henry Waldron, 11,055, David A. Noble, 8,113; Waldron's majority, 2,942. Third—David S. Walbridge, 12,865, Samuel Clark, 10,178; Walbridge's majority, 2,687. Fourth—Moses Wisner 9,863, George W. Peck, 11,233. Peck's majority, 1,370.

Owing, partly, doubtless, to the persistent attacks of the Advertiser, Mr. Bingham, in spite of his personal popularity, failed to poll the full Whig vote in the first district, and he did not fully make up this loss in the other parts of the State. The aggregate vote for the Whig and Republican candidates for Congress was 43,660, and for Governor Bingham 43,652. The aggregate Democratic vote for Congressman was 38,317 and for governor Barry 38,675. The net Republican majority on Congressmen was 5, 403 and for Governor 4,977. The political status of the opposition members of the Legislature was not very well defined, but there was an overwhelming majority against the Democrats.

The sweeping character of this political revolution is best appreciated by a comparison with the previous campaign in 1852. Then the Democrats gave their candidates 8,138 plurality and 2,288 clear majority. They elected all four candidates for Congress, 25 out of 32 members of the State Senate, and 51 out of 72 in the House.

Many of the Democrats were not ready to acknowledge that their defeat was occasioned by their attitude on the slavery question. These, including their Detroit organ, attributed it to the influence of the secret Know-Nothing order, and predicted a speedy return of Democratic supremacy. But they were mistaken, the Know-Nothing order faded away, but the Republican party continued triumphant. In the half century that has passed since then the Democrats have elected only two Governors, and those by reason of Republican dissensions. They have controlled only one Legislature, and they gained the Senate of that by fraud. They have had no United States Senator and they have elected only 43 out of 222 Congressmen.

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As a permanent record of Republican triumphs in Michigan, the following record of the votes for Governor is worth preserving:

1854.

Kinsley S. Bingham, Republican	43,652
John S. Barry, Democrat	38,675
Majority for Bingham	4,977

1856.

Kinsley S. Bingham, Republican	71,402
Alpheus Felch, Democrat	54,085
Majority for Bingham	17,317

1858.

Moses Wisner, Republican	65,202
Charles E. Stuart, Democrat	56,067
Majority for Wisner	9,135

1860.

Austin Blair, Republican	87,806
John S. Barry, Democrat	67,221
Majority for Blair	20,585

1862.

Austin Blair, Republican	68,716
Byron G. Stout, Democrat	62,102
Majority for Blair	6,614

1864.

Henry H. Crapo, Republican	81,744
Wm. M. Fenton, Democrat	71,301
Majority for Crapo	10,443

1866.

Henry H. Crapo, Republican	96,746
Alpheus S. Williams, Democrat	67,708
Majority for Crapo	29,038

1868.

Henry P. Baldwin, Republican	128,051
John Moore, Democrat	97,290
Majority for Baldwin	30,761

1870.

Henry P. Baldwin, Republican	100,176
Charles C. Comstock, Democrat	83,391
Henry Fish, Prohibition	2,710
Plurality for Baldwin	16,785

1872.

John J. Bagley, Republican	137,602
Austin Blair, Democrat	80,958
Wm. M. Ferry, Independent Democrat	2,720
Henry Fish, Prohibition	1,231
Plurality for Bagley	56,644

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1874.

John J. Bagley, Republican	111,519
Henry Chamberlain, Democrat	105,550
Chas. K. Carpenter, Prohibition	3,937
Plurality for Bagley	5,969

1876.

Charles M. Croswell, Republican	165,926
Wm. L. Webber, Democrat	142,492
Levi Sparks, Greenback	8,297
Plurality for Croswell	23,434

1878.

Charles M. Croswell, Republican	126,280
Orlando M. Barnes, Democrat	78,503
Henry B. Smith, National	73,313
Watson Snyder, Prohibition	3,469
Plurality for Croswell	47,777

1880.

David H. Jerome, Republican	178,944
Fred M. Halloway, Democrat	137,671
David Woodman, Greenback	31,085
Isaac McKeever, Prohibition	1,114
Cornelius Quick, Am. Labor	220
Plurality for Jerome	41,273

1882.

Josiah W. Begole, Fusion	154,269
David H. Jerome, Republican	149,697
Daniel P. Sagendorph, Prohibition	5,854
Waldo May, National	2,006
Plurality for Begole	4,572

1884.

Russell A. Alger, Republican	190,840
Josiah W. Begole, Fusion	186,887
David Preston, Prohibition	22,207
Jesse M. Miller, Butler Greenback	364
Plurality for Alger	3,953

1886.

Cyrus G. Luce, Republican	181,474
George L. Yaple, Democrat	174,042
Samuel Dickie, Prohibition	25,179
Plurality for Luce	7,432

1888.

Cyrus G. Luce, Republican	233,580
Wellington R. Burt, Democrat	216,450
Amherst B. Cheney, Prohibition	20,342
Wildman Mills, Union Labor	4,388
Plurality for Luce	17,130

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1890.

Edwin B. Winans, Democrat	183,725
James M. Turner, Republican	172,205
Azariah S. Partridge, Prohibition	28,681
Eugene Belden, Industrial	13,198
Plurality for Winans	11,520

1892.

John T. Rich, Republican	221,228
Allen B. Morse, Democrat	205,138
John W. Ewing, People's Party	21,417
John Russell, Prohibition	20,777
Plurality for Rich	16,090

1894.

John T. Rich, Republican	237,215
Spencer O. Fisher, Democrat	130,823
Alva W. Nichols, People's Party	30,012
Albert M. Todd, Prohibition	18,788
Plurality for Rich	106,392

1896.

Hazen S. Pingree, Republican	304,431
Charles R. Sligh, Democrat, People's and Free Silver	221,022
R. C. Safford, Prohibition	5,499
Rufus S. Sprague, Democrat	9,738
John Gilberson, National	1,944
Imperfect and scattering	5,168
Plurality for Pingree	83,409

1898.

Hazen S. Pingree, Republican	243,239
Justin R. Whiting, Democrat, People's and Free Silver	168,142
Noah W. Cheever, Prohibition	7,006
Sullivan Cook, People's	1,656
George Hasseler, Socialist	1,101
Plurality for Pingree	75,097

1900.

Aaron T. Bliss, Republican	305,612
Wm. C. Maybury, Democrat	226,228
Frederick S. Goodrich, Prohibition	11,834
Daniel Thompson, People's	871
Henry Ulbricht, Jr., Socialist Labor	958
Henry Ramsay, Socialist Democrat	2,709
Plurality for Bliss	79,384

1902.

Aaron T. Bliss, Republican	211,261
Lorenzo T. Durand, Democrat	174,077
Walter S. Westerman, Prohibition	11,236
Wm. E. Walter, Socialist	4,271
Shepard B. Cowles	1,282
Plurality for Bliss	37,184

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The roster of Republican Senators and Representatives in Congress from Michigan includes all of the former elected since 1854 and four-fifths of the latter. In three Congresses only, the 48th, 49th and 52d, have the Democrats had a majority of the delegation in the Lower House, while in thirteen Congresses the delegation to the House has been solidly Republican. Aside from the men elected to Congress as Republicans, two men who took part in the movement for organizing that party afterwards changed their politics and were elected as Democrats. They were Allen Potter in the 44th Congress and Byron G. Stout in the 52d. The list of Republicans elected to the two Houses with their terms of service has been as follows:

SENATORS.

Zachariah Chandler ..... 1857-75 and 1879
Kinsley S. Bingham 1859-61
Jacob M. Howard 1862-71
Thomas W. Ferry 1871-83
Isaac P. Christiancy 1875-79
Henry P. Baldwin 1879-81
Omar D. Conger 1881-87
Thomas W. Palmer 1883-89
Francis B. Stockbridge 1887-94
James McMillan 1889-1902
John Patton, Jr. 1894-95
Julius C. Burrows 1895-1905
Russell A. Alger 1902-1907

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE.

Thirty Fourth Congress, 1855-7—Wm A. Howard, David S. Walbridge, Henry Waldron.

Thirty Fifth, 1857-9—Wm. A. Howard, DeWitt C. Leach, David S. Walbridge, Henry Waldron.

Thirty Sixth, 1859-61—Wm. A. Howard, Francis W. Kellogg, DeWitt C. Leach, Henry Waldron.

Thirty Seventh, 1861-3—Fernando C. Beaman, Bradley F. Granger, Francis W. Kellogg, Rowland E. Trowbridge.

Thirty Eighth, 1863-5—Fernando C. Beaman, Charles Upson, John W. Longyear, Francis W. Kellogg, John F. Driggs.

Thirty Ninth, 1865-7—Fernando C. Beaman, Charles Upson, John W. Longyear, Thomas W. Ferry, Rowland E. Trowbridge, John F. Driggs.

Fortieth, 1867-9—Fernando C. Beaman, Charles Upson, Austin Blair, Thomas W. Ferry, Rowland E. Trowbridge, John F. Driggs.

Forty First, 1869-71—Fernando C. Beaman, William L. Stoughton, Austin Blair, Thomas W. Ferry, Omar D. Conger, Randolph Strickland.

Forty Second, 1871-3—Austin Blair, Henry Waldron, Wm. L. Stoughton, Omar D. Conger, Thomas W. Ferry.

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Forty Third, 1873-5—Moses W. Field, Henry Waldron, George Willard, Julius C. Burrows, Wm. B. Williams, Josiah W. Begole, Nathan B. Bradly, Jay A. Hubbell.

Forty-Fourth, 1875-7—Henry Waldron, George Willard, Wm. B. Williams, Omar D. Congar, Nathan B. Bradley, Jay A. Hubbell.

Forty Fifth, 1877-9—John W. Stone, Edwin Willitts, Jonas H. McGowan, Edwin W. Keightly, Mark S. Brewer, Charles C. Ellsworth, Jay A. Hubbell.

Forty Sixth, 1879-81—John S. Newberry, Edwin Willitts, Jonas H. McGowan, Julius C. Burrows, John W. Stone, Mark S. Brewer, Omar D. Conger, Roswell G. Horr, Jay A. Hubbell.

Forty Seventh, 1881-3—Henry W. Lord, Edwin Willitts, Edward S. Lacey, Julius C. Burrows, George W. Webber, Oliver L. Spaulding, Omar D. Conger, Roswell G. Horr, Jay A. Hubbell.

Forty Eighth, 1883-5—Edward S. Lacey, Roswell G. Horr, Byron M. Cutcheon.

Forty Ninth, 1885-7—James O'Donnell, Julius C. Burrows, Byron M. Cutcheon, Seth C. Moffatt.

Fiftieth, 1887-9—Edward P. Allen, James O'Donnell, Julius C. Burrows, Mark S. Brewer, Byron M. Cutcheon, Seth C. Moffatt, Henry W. Seymour.

Firty First, 1889-91—Edward P. Allen, James O'Donnell, Julius C. Burrows, Chas. E. Belknap, Mark S. Brewer, Aaron T. Bliss, Byron M. Cutcheon, Frank W. Wheeler, Samuel M. Stephenson.

Fifty Second, 1891-3—James O'Donnell, Julius C. Burrows, Samuel M. Stephenson.

Fifty Third, 1893-5—Julius C. Burrows, Henry F. Thomas, David D. Aitkin, Wm. S. Linton, John W. Moon, John Avery, Samuel M. Stephenson.

Fifty Fourth, 1895-7—John B. Corliss, George Spalding, Julius C. Burrows, Henry F. Thomas, Wm. Alden Smith, David D. Aitkin, Horace G. Snover, Wm. S. Linton, Roswell P. Bishop, Rousseau O. Crump, John Avery, Samuel M. Stephenson.

Fifty Fifth, 1897-9—John B. Corliss, George Spalding, Edward L. Hamilton, Wm. Alden Smith, Samuel W. Smith, Horace G. Snover, Roswell P. Bishop, Rousseau O. Crump, William S. Mesick, Carlos D. Shelden.

Fifty Sixth, 1899-1901—John B. Corliss, Henry C. Smith, Washington Gardner, Edward L. Hamilton, Wm. Alden Smith, Samuel W. Smith, Edgar Weeks, Joseph W. Fordney, Roswell P. Bishop, Rousseau O. Crump, Wm. S. Mesick, Carlos D. Shelden.

Fifty Seventh, 1901-3—John B. Corliss, Henry C. Smith, Washington Gardner, Edward L. Hamilton, Wm. Alden Smith, Samuel W. Smith, Edgar Weeks, Joseph W. Fordney, Roswell P. Bishop, Rousseau O. Crump, Henry H. Aplin, Archibald B. Darragh, Carlos D. Sheldon.

Fifty Eighth, 1903-5—Charles E. Townsend, Washington Gardner, Edward L. Hamilton, Wm. Alden Smith, Samuel W. Smith, Henry McMorran, Joseph W. Fordney, Roswell P. Bishop, George A. Loud, Archibald B. Darragh, H. Olin Young.

A number of other States shared with Michigan the work and glory of bringing the new party into existence, but in none other was the victory of that year more de-

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cisive and in none other except Vermont has the cause of its triumphs been so uninterrupted.

Wisconsin was next after Michigan in holding its State convention and adopting the name Republican. The call was not issued till July 9, although a large number of anti-Nebraska mass meetings had been held before that time, having this end in view. The convention was held at Madison, July 13, the invitation being extended to "all men opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of the Slave Power." No names were signed to the call and no name for any new party was indicated in it, but the Convention resolved "That we accept the issue forced upon us by the Slave Power, and in defense of freedom will co-operate and be known as Republicans." A State ticket was nominated and elected, and one of the first and best fruits of the victory was a Legislature which added Charles Durkee to the small body of Free Soilers in the United States Senate.

On the same day, July 13, a mass convention was held in Vermont of persons "in favor of resisting, by all constitutional means, the usurpations of the propagandists of slavery." Among the resolutions adopted was one closing with these words: "We propose, and respectfully recommend to the friends of freedom in other States, to co-operate and be known as Republicans." A State ticket was placed in the field, but the State Central Committees of this and other parties being empowered to fill vacancies, they met together and nominated a composite ticket, which was elected under the name of Fusion.

On the same day also State conventions were held in Columbus, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana. Both nominated tickets and entered upon successful campaigns under the name Republican.

The Massachusetts Convention was held six days later, July 19, at Worcester. An organization was effected and the name Republican adopted in the resolution "that in co-operation with the friends of freedom in sister States, we hereby form the Republican party of Massachusetts." But at that time the Know Nothing party was relatively stronger in Massachusetts than in any other State, and this gathered to itself a very large part of the voters who were opposed to the Democracy. The name Republican cut no figure in the election returns.

The disorganizing effect which the repeal of the Missouri Compromise had upon the old parties and the chaotic condition of party organization generally are shown by the following titles of the tickets voted that year, as given by Horace Greeley's Whig Almanac:

Maine—Republican, Rum, Whig, Democratic.
New Hampshire—Whig, Democratic, Free Soil.
Vermont—Fusion, Democratic, Free Soil.
Massachusetts—Whig, Know Nothing, Democratic, Free Soil.
Rhode Island—Whig and Maine Law, Democratic.
Connecticut—Whig, Democratic, Temperance.
New York—Fusion, Soft Democratic, Hard Democratic, Know Nothing.
New Jersey—Whig, Temperance, Nebraska.

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Pennsylvania—Whig, Democratic.
Delaware—American, Democratic.
Ohio—Republican, Nebraska.
Indiana—Republican, Nebraska.
Michigan—Republican, Nebraska.
Illinois—Republican, Nebraska.
Wisconsin—Republican, Democratic.
Iowa—Republican, Nebraska.
Missouri—Whig, Bentonian, Anti-Benton.
California—Whig, Broderick Democrats, Anti-Broderick Democrats.

In the Western States, where Greeley's Almanac spoke of the Nebraska party, it was really the straight Democratic party.

Under whatever name elected the Congressmen who were opposed to the extension of slavery co-operated in the House and were strong enough to choose Nathaniel P. Banks speaker. In less than two years these various divisions, incongruous in some respects, but united in one main purpose, were consolidated into the National Republican party, under the gallant leadership of John C. Fremont.

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CHAPTER VI.

STATE AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

The Campaigns from 1856 to 1902, Inclusive—Many Victories and Only One Entire Defeat—Memories of the Exciting Campaign of 1856—Michigan's Disappointment in 1860—Her Enthusiastic Support of Lincoln in 1864, and of Grant in 1868—The Liberal Republican Fiasco of 1872—Michigan's Important Part in the Campaign of 1876—A Heroic Struggle Against Financial Heresy in 1878—The Campaign of 1880 and the Reverse of 1882—The Stirring Canvass of 1884—A Presidential Candidate of Her Own in 1888—The Disastrous Election of 1890—Lost Ground Recovered in 1892—A Review of Results in the Last Decade.

There was no State in the Northwest—and that section had already become a stronghold of Republicanism—in which the Republicans were in better condition for a vigorous campaign in 1856 than Michigan. Governor Bingham, elected two years earlier, had proven a most prudent, efficient and patriotic executive, and the various State Departments had been admirably conducted. The principles set forth, and the party name adopted under the oaks two years earlier, had been accepted by Anti-Slavery men throughout the North, and the party had become National. It was one of Michigan's Congressmen, Wm. A. Howard, who headed the Congressional Committee of inquiry into affairs in Kansas, and who wrote the report of outrages there, which thrilled the North. Aside from its attitude on the slavery question the party had also committed itself to two measures which were most acceptable to Michigan people—a homestead law and a system of internal improvements.

The first actual movement toward nationalizing the party was the calling of a National Republican meeting, which was held at Pittsburg February 22nd, 1856. Although thoroughly representative in its character, it did not adopt a formal platform nor make nominations, but it opened the way for the regular National Convention which was called to meet at Philadelphia on the 17th of June. This was a delegate convention, but no settled rules had been adopted for sending delegates and there was no fixed ratio of representation. It was the natural crystalization of old Whigs, Abolitionists, Free Soilers and Anti-Slavery Democrats into a new party. All the Free States were represented, together with the border States of Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. The convention described itself, in the preamble to its platform,

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as a "convention of delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present administration to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a Free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the office of President and Vice-President."

Following the precedent established two years earlier of bringing their best men to the front, the Michigan Republicans sent to the Philadelphia Convention a delegation containing a number of distinguished men. Those at large were E. J. Penniman, Fernando C. Beaman, Noyes C. Avery, Thomas J. Drake, Zachariah Chandler and George Jerome. Those by districts were: First, Kinsley S. Bingham, D. McIntyre, M. A. McNaughton; Second, George A. Coe, Isaac P. Christiancy, Witter J. Baxter; Third, Hezekiah G. Wells, John R. Kellogg, Randolph Strickland; Fourth, Whitney Jones, A. P. Davis and H. B. Shank.

Of this comparatively small delegation Bingham was, either before or after this, a member of Congress, Governor and United States Senator; Chandler was United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior; Christiancy was State Supreme Court Justice, United States Senator and Minister to Peru; Fernando C. Beaman was member of Congress five terms, and was appointed United States Senator; E. J. Penniman and Randolph Strickland were members of Congress; George A. Coe was Lieutenant-Governor, and most of the others held elective official positions at some time during their lifetime. It is doubtful if any other State sent a delegation of as high an average order of ability and distinction.

The Michigan delegation had a natural preference for Wm. H. Seward for the Presidential nomination, which he, as the most conspicuous man in the party at that time, could probably have had. But he declined to run, and the votes of the delegation formed part of the 359 who gave the nomination to John C. Fremont. John McLean of Ohio, Fremont's only competitor, received 196 votes.

It is the common popular impression that Abraham Lincoln did not come into great political prominence till his debates with Stephen A. Douglas in 1858. But in this first National Republican Convention, out of thirteen candidates for the Vice-Presidency, he was second only to Wm. L. Dayton. The Michigan delegation voted thirteen for Dayton and five for Lincoln.

The Michigan appointments in this convention were: Committee on Credentials, George A. Coe; Committee on Platform, Isaac P. Christiancy; Committee on Permanent Organization, Thomas J. Drake; Vice-President, Kinsley S. Bingham; Member of National Republican Committee, Zachariah Chandler.

The platform upon which Michigan Republicans joined their fellow-citizens of like political faith in their first National campaign was, in addition to the brief preamble quoted above, as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, are essential to the preser-

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vation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our Republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction; and that as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our National Territory, ordained that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the Territories of the United States by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual, or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy and Slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to "form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest Constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them;

Their territory has been invaded by an armed force;

Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced;

The right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed.

Test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office;

The right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied;

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated;

They have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due process of law;

The freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged;

The right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect;

Murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated or encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished;

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present National Administration; and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

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Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of this Union, with her present Free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant road on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of the men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared; and believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well as the Constitution of our country, guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

The Republican State Convention was held at Marshall July 9, and was large, enthusiastic and confident. In its membership were many who had co-operated in the movement out of which grew the Convention under the oaks, and who were present at that gathering. They had seen the work which was there inaugurated with some solicitude, yet with abundant hope, taken up throughout the whole North, and going forward now with every promise of complete success, and were eager for the coming contest. Josiah Turner was permanent chairman of the Convention; the old State ticket was renominated and the National platform was heartily endorsed.

The campaign which followed was one of the warmest ever had in the State. To the Democrats it seemed especially important that Michigan should be restored to their ranks. Up to the time of the organization of the Republican party the territory and State had been Democratic at every election since modern party lines were drawn, except one, that of 1840, and it was the home of one of the most distinguished members of the party, a former Presidential candidate.

One who was an eyewitness of portions of the Democratic campaign, A. D. P. Van Buren, of Galesburg, said of it three decades later, in a pioneer society paper: "There seemed to be nothing left undone on the part of the Michigan Democracy to defeat their young Republican foe. Their press was all powerful to carry the State for Buchanan. Their ablest orators, headed by the venerable statesman, Gen. Cass, took the stump and harangued the people in mass meetings in all parts of the State, from August till the polls closed in November. Democratic orators, who had won their laurels in the glorious campaigning days of the past, were as eloquent and powerful with the masses as in the old days. There was G. V. N. Lothrop of Detroit, clarum nomen among the Democracy; Robert McClelland, of Monroe; John Van Arman, of Marshall; Charles E. Stuart, N. A.Balch and Joseph Miller, of Kalamazoo;

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Flavius J. Littlejohn, of Allegan, and many other Democratic speakers. Then there was an array of Democratic speakers of National fame, who came into the State to help carry Michigan for the Democracy. General Cass and John Van Buren made a campaign tour of Southern Michigan. Stephen A. Douglas spoke in the central part of the State, as did Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York; John C. Breckenridge and Col. Preston, of Kentucky, and Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana."

New Yorks' contributions to the Michigan Democratic campaign were intended to be especially effective. Daniel S. Dickinson, "the war horse of the Democracy," was accounted one of the best campaign orators of the day. John Van Buren was not only a witty and forceful speaker, but an adroit politician. He was one of the writers of the barnburner manifesto, which was the main factor in uniting the New York Anti-slavery Democrats and Freesoilers in support of his father for the presidency in 1848, thereby defeating General Cass. His presence here was intended to indicate the complete reconciliation of the two wings of the New York Democracy. But his mission was futile. He could not undo the good work which he did in 1848. Neither New York nor Michigan could be restored to the Democratic column.

The Republicans were well equipped with speakers residing in the state. Jacob M. and Wm. A. Howard, and Zachariah Chandler, though speaking in widely different styles, could always draw crowds in any part of Michigan. Austin Blair, of Jackson, Marsh Giddings and Dwight May, of Kalamazoo, had already come into prominence, and there were many other speakers of more than local fame. Of the outside speakers, Col. Hawkins, of Kentucky, made an effective canvass of the central portions of the state, and Abraham Lincoln gave one of his masterly and convincing addresses at Kalamazoo.

On the Republican side the campaign medal played a greater part in the canvass than it had ever done in either party before, and on both sides the accessories of brass band, campaign transparency and torch light procession bore a conspicuous part. The result, so far as this state was concerned, met the brightest anticipations of the Republicans, and accomplished the final and lasting defeat of the Democracy. The vote of the state for president was: Fremont electors, 71,762; Buchanan, 52,139; Fillmore, 1,660; a plurality for Fremont of 19,623. For governor there were only two candidates, Kinsley S. Bingham and Alpheus Felch. Bingham's majority was 17,317, against 4,977 two years earlier.

For Congress the Democrats nominated four of their strongest men, G. V. N. Lothrop in the first district, ex-Governor John S. Barry in the second, Flavius J. Littlejohn in the third, and Congressman George W. Peck in the fourth. They were beaten by Wm. A. Howard, Henry Waldron, David S. Walbridge and De Witt C. Leach, from districts in the order named. The aggregate Republican majority on Congressmen was 17,298. The Legislature was largely Republican, thus retiring Lewis Cass to private life, and bringing Zachariah Chandler into the United States Senate. The presidential electors chosen were Fernando C. Beaman, Oliver Johnson, Harmon Chamberlin, W. H. Withey, Chauncey H. Millen and Thomas J. Drake.

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The Campaign of 1858.

The campaign of 1858 was without features of special significance. The Republican State Convention met in Detroit, August 1, and was called to order by James M. Edmunds, Chairman of the State Central Committee. Austin Blair was both Temporary and Permanent Chairman. The contest for the nomination for Governor settled down into a friendly rivalry between Hezekiah G. Wells, of Kalamazoo, and Moses Wisner, of Pontiac, with scattering votes for half a dozen other candidates. On the first ballot Wells led with 69 votes to 56 for Wisner, but on the third the latter received a majority and was declared the nominee. Attorney General Jacob M. Howard was the only State officer who was renominated. For most of the offices there were contests, resulting in the choice of the following: Lieutenant Governor, Edmund B. Fairfield; Secretary of State, Nelson G. Isbell; Treasurer, John McKinney; Auditor General, Daniel L. Case; Commissioner of the State Land Office, James W. Sanborn; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John M. Gregory; Member of the Board of Education, Witter J. Baxter. The platform was brief, and related chiefly to National affairs. The Democrats nominated for Governor Charles E. Stuart, whose term as United States Senator was about to expire. The aggregate vote cast was less than that in 1856, and Wisner's majority was 9,135. The aggregate Republican majority on Congressmen was 10,376, with a good majority in the Legislature, which elected the retiring Governor, Kinsley S. Bingham, to the United States Senate.

The Lincoln and Hamlin Campaign.

The campaign of 1860 opened with a bitter disappointment to Michigan Republicans, whose Presidential idol was Wm. H. Seward. Mr. Seward was personally known to a host of Michigan citizens. Many of the leading men of the State came from Eastern and Central New York, and were familiar with his political activities there. He had made political addresses here, and during his frequent visits to the State, while acting as counsel for the defendants in the noted railway conspiracy trials, he had made a very favorable impression. But beyond all that, while one of the foremost Whigs in the country, he had been one of the first to enunciate clearly the principles upon which the Republican Party was afterwards founded. His strong statement of the "Irrepressible Conflict" between Freedom and Slavery long preceded Mr. Lincoln's elaboration of his belief that "this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

It was therefore a strong Seward delegation that went from Michigan to the second Republican National Convention, which met in Chicago May 19, 1860. Its members at large were Austin Blair, of Jackson; Walton W. Murphy, of Jonesville, Thomas W. Ferry, of Grand Haven, and J. J. St. Clair, of Marquette. Those sent from the districts were: First, J. D. Peterson, of Detroit, and Alexander D. Crane, of Dexter; Second, Jesse G. Benson, of Dowagiac, and Wm. L. Stoughton, of Sturgis; Third, Francis Quinn, of Niles, and Erastus Hussey, of Battle Creek; Fourth, D. C. Buckland, of Pontiac, and Michael T. C. Plessner, of Saginaw City.

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The Michigan appointments in the Convention were: Vice President, Thomas W. Ferry; Secretary, Wm. L. Stoughton; Committee on Permanent Organization, Walton W. Murphy; Credentials, Francis Quinn; Resolutions, Austin Blair. Of these the first afterwards became a Member of Congress, United States Senator and President of the Senate. The second became a Member of Congress, the third a Foreign Minister and the fourth Governor and Member of Congress. Austin Blair was selected a member of the National Committee.

There is little question but that at the time of their appointment at least two-thirds of the delegates individually favored the nomination of Seward. But between the time of their appointment and the meeting of the Convention, potent and in some cases insidious, influences were at work against him. In many an interview and speech the fact was emphasized that in the campaign of 1856 the tide, which was turning strongly toward Fremont, received its first setback by the result of the October elections in Pennsylvania and Indiana. In the former the meager Democratic majority of about 2,000, it was afterwards clearly proven, was obtained through the use of fraudulent naturalization papers, but the effect, in the closing days of the National campaign remained just the same. In the Chicago Convention of 1860, the delegations from both these states expressed the strongest apprehensions that Seward, notwithstanding his eminent qualifications, could not carry their states.

In Pennsylvania the Republicans seem in a measure to have lost their grip. Andrew G. Curtin had been nominated for Governor by a convention which did not even call itself Republican, but took the name of the People's Convention. The element which had formerly constituted the Know-Nothing Party still maintained its organization in Philadelphia and a few other counties. This organization was not friendly to Seward, though Mr. Curtin thought it might follow any of the other candidates proposed. He knew that his own political fortunes were involved in the set of the Presidential current, and therefore he and A. K. McClure, his campaign manager, emphasized to every delegation that would hear them their belief that Seward could not carry Pennsylvania.

In the other, still more doubtful State, Indiana, there were similar influences at work. Henry S. Lane had been nominated for Governor, and Oliver P. Morton for Lieutenant Governor, with the understanding that if the Republicans carried the State, Lane should be sent to the Senate, leaving Morton in the executive chair. Both thought that Lincoln's nomination would add greater strength to the Republican movement in their State than would Seward's, and therefore joined their remonstrance to Curtin's against the nomination of the latter. The situation was further complicated by the presence of five "favorite sons" in the field. The Pennsylvania delegation supported Simon Cameron; Ohio had Salmon P. Chase; Missouri presented Edward Bates; New Jersey offered Wm. L. Dayton, and Vermont's few votes were attached to Jacob Collamer. In the case of some of these at least the delegates were thus tied up, not with the expectation that they would be of any use to the favorite sons, but for the purpose of making an advantageous trade, a practice that has been not uncommon since then.

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The utmost effort was made to swerve the Michigan delegation from their allegiance to Seward, the Indiana argument being urged with especial force, but they remained steadfast, casting their twelve votes for Seward to the end, not even changing them after the nomination of Lincoln was accomplished.

After the nomination had been announced, and Mr. Evarts, of New York, had moved that it be made unanimous, and Mr. Schurz, of Wisconsin, had supported the motion, Austin Blair voiced Michigan's sentiments when he said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Like my friend who has just taken his seat, the State of Michigan, from first to last, has cast her vote for the great statesman of New York. She has nothing to take back. She has not sent me forward to worship the rising sun, but she has put me forward to say that, at your behests here to-day, she lays down her first, best loved candidate to take up yours, with some beating of the heart, with some quivering of the veins; but she does not fear that the fame of Seward will suffer, for she knows that his name is a portion of the history of the American Union. It will be written, and read, and be loved long after the temporary excitement of this day has passed away, and when Presidents themselves are forgotten in the oblivion which comes over all temporal things. We stand by him still. We have followed him with a single eye and unwavering faith in times past. We marshal now behind him in the grand column which shall go out to battle for Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

Mark you, what has obtained to-day will obtain in November next. Lincoln will be elected by the people. We say of our candidate, God bless his magnanimous soul. I promise you that in the State of Michigan, which I have the honor to represent, where the Republican Party from the days of its organization to this hour never suffered a single defeat, we will give you for the gallant son of Illinois, and glorious standard bearer of the West, a round twenty-five thousand majority.

Upon the nomination for Vice President the delegation gave, on both ballots, eight votes for Hannibal Hamlin and four for Cassius M. Clay.

It was a disappointed party of delegates and sympathizers that came back from Chicago, but with true loyalty to principle and unabated party zeal, they set about the effort to make Mr. Blair's prophecy good. The State Nominating Convention was held in Merrill Hall, Detroit, June 8, and was called to order by E. C. Walker, Chairman of the State Central Committee. Alexander Campbell, of Marquette, was Temporary, and Robert R. Beecher, of Lenawee, was Permanent Chairman. Only a single ballot was taken for nominee for Governor, Austin Blair receiving 108½ votes to 63½ for James M. Edmunds. The ticket was made up almost entirely of new names, the other nominees being as follows: Lieutenant Governor, James Birney; Secretary of State, James B. Porter; State Treasurer, John Owen; Auditor General, Langford G. Barry; Commissioner of the State Land Office, Samuel S. Lacey; Attorney General, Charles Upson; Superintendent of Public Instruction, John M. Gregory; Member of the State Board of Education, Edwin Willits.

The National Convention, while abating nothing of its hostility to slavery extension or its denunciation of the Democratic administration, had broadened its platform so as to include the mild advocacy of a protective tariff; a vigorous demand for the passage of the Homestead measure which had already passed the House; a reas-

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sertion of the power of Congress to make appropriations for river and harbor improvements; an imperative demand for Government aid to a railroad to the Pacific, and as preliminary thereto the establishment of a daily overland mail. The State Convention accepted this platform as its creed, adding but little to it in relation to State affairs. The Convention was followed by an immense evening ratification meeting at which the attendance was estimated at 8,000.

The threats of secession and the possibility of a coming war added to the earnestness and gave a tinge of solemnity to the campaign, which was conducted by the Republicans with their accustomed vigor. The Wide Awake organization, comprising the first uniformed political companies formed in the history of the country, originated in the East, but was taken up here, and its torch-light processions were a picturesque feature of the campaign. Home talent furnished most of the oratory for the great meetings that were held.

Michigan did not quite make good Austin Blair's prediction of 25,000 majority, but it gave Lincoln 23,323 plurality, the vote standing: Lincoln, 88,480; Stephen A. Douglas, 65,057; John Bell, Constitutional Union, 405, and John C. Breckenridge, State Rights Democrat, 805. Blair's majority for Governor was 20,585, and the aggregate majority for the four Republican Congressmen was 22,108. Few states in the North did better when the vote at previous elections is taken into consideration. The Presidential electors chosen were Hezekiah G. Wells, Rufus Hosmer, George W Lee, Edward Dorsch, Philotus Hayden and Augustus Coburn.

The Legislature elected at this time was a notable one in respect to the high character and ability of its members. The Detroit delegation, for instance, included Representative James F. Joy and Senator Henry P. Baldwin. Mr. Baldwin was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and the known financial ability of himself and of State Treasurer Owen, and the high esteem in which they were held by Eastern capitalists, were a great aid to Governor Blair in his negotiations of the early war loans. It was this Legislature that, in special session in 1862, first elected Jacob M. Howard to the United States Senate.

The Elections in 1862.

The summer of 1862 was one of the dark periods of the war, and the failure of the Union armies to gain expected victories caused numerous political reverses in the North. In a number of states a combination of discontented Republicans, with Democrats and a remnant of the Native American element, took the name of the Union Party, and was sufficiently strong, either to carry the elections or to greatly reduce the Republican majorities. In Michigan an organization of this kind placed in nomination, as the Union candidate for Governor, Byron G. Stout, a man of Democratic antecedents, but who joined in the Democratic revolt in 1854, attended the Convention at Jackson and acted with the Republicans in at least two campaigns. But the Republican Party of Michigan showed no signs of wavering or despondency. The State Convention which met in Detroit September 24, adopted a long and patriotic platform, endorsed the administration of Governor Blair, and renominated him, thus establishing

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the two-term precedent, which has since become the almost invariable rule with Michigan Republicans. E. C. Walker was Temporary and Wm. A. Howard Permanent Chairman of the Convention. For the renomination Governor Blair received 186 out of a total of 208 votes cast. The State Treasurer, Commissioner of the State Land Office, and the educational officers were renominated, and the ticket was completed as follows: Lieutenant Governor, Chas. S. May; Secreatry of State, Henry T. Backus; Auditor General, Emil Anneke; Attorney General, Albert Williams. The campaign, though short, was energetically conducted. The vote, however, was comparatively light, the aggregate being 130,818, against 155,027 in 1860. Governor Blair's majority was 6,614. The Union Party elected one Congressman, Augustus C. Baldwin, of Pontiac, and the net Republican majority on Congressmen was 7,599. J. W. Tillman was made Chairman of the State Central Committee.

The Lincoln and Johnson Campaign.

The Republican National Committee, in calling the Convention for 1864, dropped the name Republican, and the proceedings were officially published as those of the "National Union Convention." Its call was addressed to "all qualified voters who desire the unconditional maintenance of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the complete suppression of the existing rebellion, with the cause thereof, by vigorous war and all apt and efficient means."

The Convention met in the Front-St. Theater, Baltimore, June 7. The conditions were much more favorable, both for the Republican Party and for President Lincoln, than they were in 1862, when several of the states practically voted a want of confidence in the administration. The Union arms had then met with disasters in the field, the people had lost confidence in some of the military leaders, and there seemed to be no definite plan of military campaign. In the interval between 1862 and 1864 the Union armies had won some splendid victories, Gen. Grant had gained a strong hold upon the public confidence, and the people who, at one time, thought the President's treatment of the subject of slavery was dilatory and uncertain, had come to see that it was eminently prudent and sagacious. Before the Convention met the movement in favor of Secretary Chase as the Presidential nominee lost its force, and with the exception of Missouri's twenty-two votes, which were instructed for Grant, it was quite certain that Lincoln's renomination would be unanimous. In this conclusion no delegation more heartily concurred than that from Michigan, which consisted of the following members:

At large: Austin Blair, Marsh Giddings, Neil Gray and Chas. W. Clisbee.

By districts: First, Herman Kiefer, Wm. R. Noyes; Second, L. P. Alexander J. H. Kelsey; Third, Charles T. Gorham, Edwin Lawrence; Fourth, Osmond Tower, W. I. Cornwell; Fifth, Charles Draper, Omar D. Conger; Sixth, J. B. Walker Ransom Sheldon.

The Michigan appointments in the Convention were as follows: Vice President, Charles T. Gorham; Secretary, Wm. R. Noyes; Committee on Credentials, Marsh.

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Giddings; Permanent Organization, Edwin Lawrence; Resolutions, Omar D. Conger; Chairman of Delegation, Austin Blair.

The only real contest in the Convention was that on the nomination for Vice President, and that was quickly disposed of. A majority of the delegates were undoubtedly favorable to the renomination of Hannibal Hamlin, but it was President Lincoln's wish that the Southern War Democrats should be honored with a place on the ticket, and the influence of the administration was quietly exerted for Andrew Johnson. The vote, as it stood at the end of the roll call, showed 200 for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, 150 for Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, 108 for Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, 28 for Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, 21 for Lovell H. Rousseau, of Kentucky, and 12 scattered among five other candidates. Before the result was announced, however, changes were made which gave Johnson 494 votes out of the total of 521. The Michigan delegation voted solidly for Hannibal Hamlin, and was the last State to change to Johnson. In view of the fact that the Democrats, more than two and a half months after this, denounced the war a failure, the attitude of the Baltimore Convention on that subjet is interesting. It is expressed in the second plank of the platform, which resolved "That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with Rebels, nor to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions."

This became part of the platform upon which the Michigan Republicans made their successful campaign. Their State Convention was held at Merrill Hall, Detroit, with John M. Lamb, of Lapeer, as Temporary, and Robert R. Beecher, of Lenawee, as Permanent, Chairman. The contest for the gubernatorial nomination was a close one between Henry H. Crapo, of Flint, and Henry P. Baldwin, of Detroit, being finally determined in favor of the former by vote of 106 to 103. Although Charles S. May counted on a renomination for Lieutenant Governor, a strong opposition manifested itself in his own county, and on the fourth ballot he was defeated by Ebenezer O. Grosvenor, of Jonesville. Renominations were accorded to the Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor General and Member of the State Board of Education. The remainder of the ticket was as follows: Commissioner of the State Land Office, Cyrus Hewitt; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oramel Hosford. Wm. A. Howard was made Chairman of the State Central Committee.

The campaign had not progressed far when Union victories in the field turned to ridicule the Democratic phrase, the war is a failure, and not even McClellan's popularity could inspire any real hope in his followers. Their vote, nevertheless, was much larger than at any previous election, but the Republican vote showed a corresponding increase. The totals as actually cast were for Lincoln electors, 91,521; McClellan, 74,604; Lincoln's majority, 16,917. On Governor the vote was: Henry H.

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Crapo, 91,356; Wm. M. Fenton, 74,293; majority for Crapo, 17,063. By decision of the State Supreme Court the soldiers' vote, taken in the field, of 9,608 for Crapo and 2,992 for Fenton, was excluded from the count. The Presidential electors chosen were Robert R. Beecher, Thomas D. Gilbert, Frederick Waldorf, Marsh Giddings, Christian E. Berbach, Perry Hannah, Omar D. Conger and George W. Pack. The Congressional delegation was again unanimously Republican.

The Elections in 1866.

In 1866, for the first time since the organization of the party, there was discord in the Republican ranks. Andrew Johnson, who had been nominated for Vice President in order to catch votes, which, it afterwards appeared, were not needed, had come, by grace of an assassin, into the Presidential chair. He first appeared after his elevation as an implacable Rebel hater, and his declarations that "treason should be made odious," that treason was "the very highest crime known to the law," that "the men who were guilty of it should suffer the severest penalties," and other similar utterances, caused great apprehension at the South. But he subsequently quarreled with the Republican leaders, set out to carry out a reconstruction policy of his own, which, however, was not very well defined, and sought to build up, by Federal patronage, a personal party.

Just how far the Michigan Republicans had been "Johnsonized" was a matter of uncertainty until the State Convention met at Merrill Hall, Detroit, August 30. That Convention unanimously adopted a resolution "That when the President of the United States published a garbled report of Gen. Phil Sheridan's dispatch from New Orleans, which placed that gallant soldier in sympathy with the Rebel assassins of Union men on July 30—to cover his own authorship in the said massacre—he insulted the loyal people of the country and committed a base wrong upon General Sheridan, which the loyal people indignantly resent."

A preamble and resolutions were adopted declaring that Henry J. Raymond, Chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee, who had Johnsonized, had "deserted the principles ne was appointed to promote, and that every consideration of decency and personal honor required him to withdraw, and no longer hold the position of betraying the trust," and instructing the Michigan member of the National Executive Committee "to use his influence to expel said Raymond from the position he perverts and disgraces." There was not much comfort for the Johnson men in either of these resolutions.

On an informal ballot for Governor, Henry H. Crapo had 105 votes, Henry P. Baldwin 52, Wm. L. Stoughton 46, and there were three scattering. On the first formal ballot Governor Crapo was renominated, receiving 139 votes to 52 for Baldwin and 17 for Stoughton.

The rest of the ticket was as follows: Secretary of State, Oliver L. Spaulding; Treasurer, Ebenezer O. Grosvenor; Auditor General, Wm. Humphrey; Commissioner of the State Land Office, Benjamin D. Pritchard; Attorney General, Wm. L. Stoughton; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oramel Hosford; Member of the State

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Board of Education, Edwin Willits. During the two months between the convention and election President Johnson's influence perceptibly weakened, and the Republicans came out in greater strength than ever. Crapo's vote exceeded that given him in 1864 by over 5,000. The Democrats nominated General Alpheus S. Williams, who had been a Whig up to the time the Republican Party was organized. His vote was 6,585 less than that given Fenton in 1866. Crapo's majority was 29,038.

The Grant and Colfax Campaign.

In the early part of 1868 both the great political parties were at sea in respect to candidates for the Presidency. The Republicans were again thoroughly united, but their old leaders were no longer available. Confidence in Seward was impaired by his officious intermeddling with other departments than his own during the early part of President Lincoln's first term. His administration of the State Department, after he had fully learned the fact that Lincoln was President and that Seward was only Secretary of State, was eminently satisfactory. Still something of the old impression remained, and his subsequent close adherence to President Johnson's abortive policies made an end of any hopes he may have had of resuming Republican leadership. Chase had already gone half way over to the enemy. Wm. M. Evarts, who had been talked of as a possible candidate, had "Johnsonized" along with Seward; while Cameron and the two or three other "favorite sons" of 1860 never had any real strength as Presidential candidates.

The Michigan delegation to the National Convention, which met in Chicago May 20, was as follows: At large: Wm. A. Howard, Hampton Rich, Marsh Giddings, Randolph Strickland. By districts: First, Robert R. Beecher, Henry Waldron; Second, Wm. B. Williams, Evan J. Bonine; Third, Sullivan M. Cutcheon, John W. Longyear; Fourth, Morgan Bates, George G. Briggs; Fifth, Stephen D. Bingham, John Divine; Sixth, John H. Richardson, Joseph W. Edwards. They were instructed to vote for Schuyler Colfax for Vice President. The State Convention which sent them left them free as respects their vote for President.

Michigan Republicans were no longer devoted to their favorite and hero of 1860, Wm. H. Seward, and they had never been attached to any of the other candidates mentioned. But in common with those of other parts of the country they were gradually turning toward Ulysses S. Grant.

Before the war Grant took but little interest in politics, often let an election pass without voting, and when he did vote it was generally the Democratic ticket. During the war he was strictly a military and not a political general. He attended to his fighting, without trying to run the Government. Since the war he had borne himself with admirable discretion. As the head of the Army it was his duty to assist in carrying out any plan of reconstruction upon which the President and Congress should agree, but as they agreed upon nothing his course was a difficult one. That he gave serious offense to neither, furnished evidence of great tact and discretion. He declined to attach himself to Johnson's person or policies. He was obliged, by official courtesy, to accompany the President in his "swing around the circle," but maintained his dig-

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nity, both in speech and behavior, while the President was indulging in his loquacious antics. He remonstrated against the suspension of Secretary Stanton, accepted the charge of the War Department under protest, and retired as soon as Stanton's suspension was annulled by the Senate.

By the time the Convention met, mention of any other name than Grant's had ceased, and it was apparent that his nomination would be unanimous. The scenes attending it were dramatic. An unusual proceeding in a National Convention was the admission to the platform of a delegation from a large Soldiers' and Sailors' Convention, who presented resolutions favoring Grant's nomination. These, with similar resolutions adopted by the Union League of America, were received with cheers, and ordered printed as part of the proceedings. Only one nominating speech was made, and that the shortest ever made in a National Convention. It was by Gen. John A. Logan, who, being informed by the Chair that nominations were in order, said: "Then, sir, in the name of the loyal citizens, soldiers and sailors of this great Republic of the United States of America; in the name of loyalty, of liberty, of humanity, of justice; in the name of the National Union Republican Party, I nominate, as candidate for the Chief Magistracy of this Nation, Ulysses S. Grant." Three rousing cheers were given for the nominee, and the band struck up "Hail to the Chief." The roll of states was then called, and when announcement was made that the entire 650 votes of the Convention were given for Ulysses S. Grant, nine more cheers were given and the band played "The Battle Cry of Freedom," while from the ceiling descended a large portrait of Grant, with the words "Match him."

After the enthusiasm of this nomination the Convention settled down to a spirited contest over that for Vice President. There were ten candidates mentioned, and on the first ballot the vote stood as follows:

Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio	149
Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana	118
Reuben E. Fenton, of New York	132
Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts	119
Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania	52
Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine	30
John Speed, of Kentucky	22
James Harlan, of Iowa	16
John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland	14
Wm. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania	6

The contest gradually narrowed down to a choice between Wade and Colfax. The former led through four ballots, but on the sixth there was a stampede to Colfax, who received the nomination. The Michigan delegation voted on every ballot for Colfax.

The Convention appointments of the delegation were as follows: Vice President, Henry Waldron; Secretary, George G. Briggs; Committee on Credentials, John W. Longyear; Permanent Organization, Hampton Rich; Resolutions, Robert R. Beecher; Rules, Wm. B. Williams.

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The State Nominating Convention was held in Merrill Hall, Detroit, July 1, with David H. Jerome as Temporary, and James Birney, Permanent, Chairman. Henry P. Baldwin was nominated for Governor, receiving 139 votes to 62 for Cyrus G. Luce. Morgan Bates was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, and Dwight May for Attorney General, and the rest of the old ticket was nominated.

The Michigan delegation to the Chicago Convention came home full of enthusiasm for Grant, and the Republican voters in the State shared in that enthusiasm. But the campaign was by no means an easy one. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana went Republican in the October elections, but by greatly reduced majorities. In Indiana Morton's majority of 30,000 in 1864 was reduced to 961 for this year's Republican candidate. Horatio Seymour, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, and one of the best of campaigners, took the stump in the West, and inspired his followers with a lively hope. But the business interests in the East took alarm at the inflation plank in the Democratic platform, and through their efforts the tide was turned. In the end Grant carried 26 states, with 214 electoral votes, and Seymour only eight states, with 80 electoral votes. Yet six weeks earlier the Republicans had viewed the situation with some alarm.

In Michigan the contest was very spirited. One of its notable features was a series of mass meetings, chiefly along the line of the Michigan Central Railroad, addressed by Senator Chandler, Wm. A. Howard and Henry P. Baldwin. They were held both afternoon and evening. The prominence of Senator Chandler, who was a candidate for a third term in the Senate, the oratorical fame of Mr. Howard, and a desire to see the candidate for Governor brought out immense crowds, with brass band and torch-light accompaniments. In the Second Congressional District a good deal of attention was attracted to joint debates between General Wm. L. Stoughton and Henry Chamberlain, Republican and Democratic candidates for Congress. The speeches at these joint discussions were a trifle ponderous, but had large and attentive audiences. In Detroit there was a strife between the two parties to see which could get up the longest torchlight and transparency procession. These were very costly, and the campaign committees concluded that it was an irrational and ineffective expense. It was agreed between the committees of the two parties to dispense with them in the future, and that was the end of the torchlight procession, as a common feature in Michigan politics.

The vote in Michigan was very large, exceeding that of 1864 by nearly 33,000. The Republican vote for electors was 113,229, and the Democratic 82,364, majority for Grant 30,865. Baldwin's majority for Governor over John Moore, of Saginaw, was 30,671. The Presidential Electors chosen were Charles M. Croswell, John Burt, Wm. Doeltz, Charles W. Clisbee, Charles T. Gorham, Byron M. Cutcheon, Giles Hubbard, Michael T. C. Plessner. The Congressmen elected were all Republican.

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The State Election in 1870.

The campaign of 1870 marked the advent of the Prohibition Party as a separate organization in Michigan politics. It did not cut much of a figure that year, but caused the Republicans great uneasiness in some subsequent campaigns. The Republican State Convention met in Young Men's Hall, Detroit, September 1, with Lawrence T. Remer for Temporary Chairman, and John K. Boies for Permanent. Governor Baldwin was renominated by acclamation, and Morgan Bates was renominated for Lieutenant Governor on the first ballot. Daniel Striker was nominated for Secretary of State, Victory P. Collier for Treasurer, and Charles A. Edmunds for Land Commissioner. The rest of the old ticket was renominated. The Convention witnessed something of a spirit of revolt against Detroit domination in party politics. The Governor and both United States Senators were residents of that city, together with the Chairman of the State Central Committee. The party headquarters also were there. The last seven State Conventions had also been held in Detroit. This Convention appointed Stephen D. Bingham, of Lansing, Chairman of the State Central Committee, and instructed the Committee to call the next Convention at Lansing. The campaign was a quiet one, and the count of votes gave Baldwin 100,176; Chas. C. Comstock, Democrat, 83,391, and Henry Fish, Prohibition, 2,710, a Republican plurality of 16,785. For the second time only since the Republican party was organized, the Democrats elected a Congressman, Jabez G. Sutherland, in the Saginaw district.

An Easy Victory in 1872.

The campaign of 1872 began seriously enough but ended in jest. Early in the year the defections from the Republican ranks caused the leaders great apprehensions. If the Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati had nominated Charles Francis Adams, or Senator Lyman Trumbull the condition would have been very threatening. But the nomination of Horace Greeley, an old Anti-Slavery protective tariff Republican, and one of the worst Democratic haters in the Country, along with B. Gratz Brown, a Free Trade Democrat, gave the ticket a Dolly Varden character that was provocative of ridicule. It did not draw away the Republican votes that it was expected to, and it failed to receive the full Democratic support.

The Republican National Convention for 1872 was held in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, June 5th. The unanimous renomination of Grant for President was a foregone conclusion; there were only two candidates for the Vice-Presidency and there were no new issues. The Convention, therefore, lacked the interest which the promise of exciting contests creates, yet it was large in numbers, having in its membership many of the leading men of the party, and the enthusiasm over the Presidential nomination was even greater than in 1868. The nominating speech was again very brief. It was made by Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, and was as follows: "On behalf of the great Republican party of Illinois and that of the Union, in the name of liberty, of loyalty, of justice and of law, in the interest of economy, of good government, of peace and of the equal rights of all, remembering with profound gratitude his glorious achieve-

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ments in the field, and his noble statesmanship as Chief Magistrate of this great Nation, I nominate as President of the United States for a second term, Ulysses S. Grant."

The manner in which the nomination was received is thus described in the official report of the Convention: "A scene of the wildest excitement followed this speech. The spacious Academy was crowded with thousands of spectators in every part, and on the stage, in the parquet, and in tier upon tier of galleries arose deafening, prolonged, tumultuous cheers, swelling from pit to dome. A perfect wilderness of hats, caps and handkerchiefs waved to and fro in a surging mass, as three times three reverberated from the thousands of voices. The band appeared to catch the prevailing enthusiasm, and waved their instruments as though they had been flags. Amid cries of 'music,' 'music,' they struck up 'Hail to the Chief.' As the majestic strains of this music came floating down from the balcony, a life-size equistrian portrait of Grant came down as if by magic, filling the entire space of the back scene, and the enthusiasm knew no bounds." The nomination was seconded by General Stewart I. Woodford, of New York, and a roll call by States gave Grant the entire 752 votes of the Convention.

The contest for the Vice-Presidency was between Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, with some other votes for local favorites. The only ballot taken gave Wilson, 364½; Colfax, 321½; Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, 26; John F. Lewis, of Virginia, 22; Edmund J. Davis, of Texas, 16; Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut, and Edward F. Noyes, of Ohio, one each. Before the result was announced changes of votes were made so as to give Colfax 306½ and Wilson 399½ and the nomination. The Michigan delegation voted for Colfax.

The delegates from Michigan were as follows: At large, Eber B. Ward, George Willard, Wm. A. Howard, Perry Hannah. By districts: First, Newell Avery, John Greusel; second, Nathan S. Kendall, Rice A. Beal; Third, Harvey Bush, John C. Fitzgerald; Fourth, George S. Clapp, James H. Stone; Fifth, Benjamin D. Pritchard, H. A. Norton; Sixth, Josiah W. Begole, Daniel C. Crossman; Seventh, Ezra Hazen, Benjamin W. Huston; Eighth, Charles S. Draper, James Birney; Ninth, B. F. Rogers, John F. Brown. The Convention appointments were as follows: Vice-President, Eber B. Ward; Secretary, Charles S. Draper; Committee on Credentials, James H. Stone; Permanent organization, James Birney; Rules, George Willard; Resolutions, Wm. A. Howard. Mr. Stone was said to be the youngest man among the whole 752 delegates.

The Republican State Convention was held July 31 at Representatives Hall, Lansing, with Charles E. Holland, of Houghton, as Temporary, and Sylvester Larned, of Detroit, as Permanent Chairman. Only one ballot was taken for Governor, John J. Bagley receiving the nomination with 164 votes to 44 for Francis B. Stockbridge. Henry H. Holt was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, Daniel B. Briggs for Superintendent of Public Instruction, Everett H. Clapp for Land Commissioner, and Byron D. Ball for Attorney General. The rest of the old ticket was renominated.

The campaign took a peculiar form. A number of the Democratic weeklies in

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Michigan, as well as dailies in other States, refused to support the Greeley ticket, although the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore endorsed it. The Democratic malcontents held a Convention at Louisville, Ky., September 7, and nominated Charles O'Connor, of New York, for President, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. Both declined, but electoral tickets were put up for them in a number of States, Michigan among them.

For this State the veteran Republican Austin Blair had become dissatisfied with some features of Republican leadership, and embittered at the failure of his repeated attempts to gain the United States Senatorship, and joined the Liberal Republicans, who made him their candidate for Governor. He was supported by the regular Democratic Convention, although the O'Connor or "Straight" Democrats put up a separate candidate in the person of Wm. M. Ferry. The Prohibitionists again nominated Henry Fish.

In its early stages the campaign did not give promise of the result which actually came about. Greeley himself took the stump in the October states of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. He drew immense crowds, and made the best speeches of his life, able, earnest and logical. In Michigan Blair made a number of speeches, his opening speech at Jackson being especially strong, and the Republicans thought it necessary to put their own best speakers in the field. At the October elections Indiana chose as Governor, Thomas A. Hendricks, the most popular Democrat in the State, but by a majority so small as to leave the Republicans confident of being able to carry the State in November. Ohio gave the Republicans about 14,000 majority. In Pennsylvania Gen. Hartranft was elected Governor by about 40,000 majority, in spite of the opposition of the best known Republican paper in the State.

From this time on the Greeley campaign went rapidly into collapse. It did not draw the Republican votes that were expected, and it could not hold the Democratic vote. In the final result the Greeley electoral ticket carried only the six Southern States of Maryland, Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, Missouri and Texas, with 66 electoral votes. Grant had 286 electoral votes, and six of the Northern States gave him over 50,000 majority each.

The vote in Michigan was: Grant and Wilson, 136,199; Greeley and Brown, 77,020; O'Connor and Adams, 2,861; Black and Russell, Prohibition, 1,271; giving Grant a plurality of 59,179. The Fusion State ticket did somewhat better, Bagley's plurality being 56,644. Blair's vote was 80,958 or 3,938 larger than Greeleys. But it was 2,433 less than that given Comstock in 1870 and 16,232 less than that given Moore in 1868. In spite of the defection of this year Governor Blair was soon back in the Republican ranks, and was afterwards honored with the Republican nominations for Regent of the University and Justice of the Supreme Court.

The Presidential electors chosen at this time were: Eber B. Ward, Wm. A. Howard, Herman Kiefer, Frederick Waldorf, James O'Donnell, Lawson A. Duncan, Alonzo Sessions, Samuel G. Ives, John L. Woods, Charles L. Ortman and John F. Brown.

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A Set Back In 1874.

The Republican State Convention of 1874 was held at Lansing August 26, with Byron M. Cutcheon as Temporary Chairman and J. Webster Childs as Permanent. The incumbents of the offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Land Commissioner and Superintendent of Public Instruction were renominated by acclamation, and the rest of the ticket was made up as follows: State Treasurer, Wm. B. McCreary; Auditor General, Ralph Ely; Attorney General, Andrew J. Smith; Member of the State Board of Education, Edgar Rexford. The Democrats nominated for Governor, Henry Chamberlain, the "Duke of Three Oaks," a strong man and a good campaigner. The Prohibitionists nominated Charles K. Carpenter.

There were many portents of political disaster to the Republicans before the campaign opened. The panic of 1873 and the business depression that followed, reacted, as such business conditions always do, against the party in power. The "salary grab," in which Democrats and Republicans were alike interested; the Credit Mobilier speculations, in which some members of Congress were involved; and the exposure of Whisky Ring frauds upon the Government; these all conspired to aid the political opposition. The reaction commenced in the fall of 1873, when Ohio elected a Democratic Governor for the first time since the Republican party was organized, and the Republican majorities were greatly reduced in the other States which held annual elections. The full force of the political upheaval was not felt till 1874, but then the results were simply bewildering. The Congress which was elected in 1872 had 203 Republican members and 88 Democrats. That elected in 1874 had 107 Republicans and 181 Democrats. New York gave General John A. Dix, Republican candidate for Governor, 53,451 majority in 1872. Two years later it gave 50,317 majority to Samuel J. Tilden, and thus gave him the next Democratic nomination for President. Pennsylvania changed a Republican majority of 137,548 in 1872 to a Democratic majority of 4,679 in 1874, and a number of other states showed similar reversals. In Michigan the Republicans escaped defeat only through unexpectedly large majorities in the Upper Peninsula, which was formerly strongly Democratic, but which had of late years been rapidly changing over to the other side. As it was, Governor Bagley's plurality of 56,644 in 1872 was reduced to 5,969 in 1874. Since the Republican party was organized the Democrats had elected only three members of Congress, George W. Peck of Pontiac, in 1854; Augustus C. Baldwin, of the same city, in 1862, and Jabez G. Sutherland, of Saginaw, in 1870. They now elected three members at once, Alpheus S. Williams in the Detroit district; Allen Potter in the Kalamazoo district, and George H. Durand in the Oakland-Genesee district. The Legislature was Republican, but by so small a majority that half a dozen bolters, combining with the Democrats, were able to defeat the re-election of Zachariah Chandler to the United States Senate.

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The Campaign of 1876.

James G. Blaine was as popular in Michigan in 1876 as Wm. H. Seward had been in 1860, and in spite of the attacks made upon him on the floor of Congress a majority of the Convention which met at Grand Rapids May 10, to send delegates to the National Convention favored his nomination. There was in fact a strong sentiment in favor of instructing the delegates to vote for Blaine, but this was prevented by a very dramatic speech by Wm. A. Howard. Mr. Howard was then quite feeble in body, though as vigorous as ever in intellect. He was badly crippled, walked with painful slowness, and sat most of the time when he was talking. He had already been chosen by acclamation one of the delegates-at-large to the Cincinnati Convention, and while the ballots were being counted for another delegate-at-large, he was repeatedly called upon for a speech. He at last hobbled forward, was assisted to the platform, took a seat and said in opening:

It has been my fortune within the last few years to attend many conventions called by the Republican party, but never before have I attended one in which the character of the delegates was so high, or their appearance so good. I see here many of the war horses of the party, men who have engaged in its contests since it was first called into being, who have shared in its work and rejoiced in its triumphs. I never saw in a convention more determination, more hopefulness nor more courage. I am deeply touched by your expressions of attachment to myself. I have not much more to do, but expect soon to depart in peace, and leave the good cause in your hands. Twice before I have been delegate-at-large to Republican National Conventions and I had not expected to be so honored again. If my life is spared I shall go to Cincinnati, attend the Convention, and use my best judgment in performing the duties of the position.

The campaign is peculiar in this, that sentiment as to candidates is not crystalized. The whole question is one of settling individual preferences and of consulting availability. The prominent candidates are all representative Republicans, all worthy of support. But we have not to consult altogether our own preferences. The battle is not to be won in Michigan, but in doubtful states like New York. Any one of the leaders can carry the banner triumphant throughout Michigan. We want a leader who will carry it to victory in weak places all along the line, and if we secure this we shall triumph. As to myself I have no individual preferences. I am earnest for the cause, but indifferent as to the man. I am not a Blaine man, nor a Bristow man, nor a Morton man. I am your man, and for the triumph of the cause.

Mr. Howard then stated the grounds of encouragement which the action of the "Confederate House" had furnished to the Republicans, and leaning forward said with great earnestness:

We want the best and strongest man among the representative Republicans. In consulting availability we must be sure to get pronounced Republicans. We want no more Tylers, no more Andy Johnsons. We must select from the tried members of our party. In this selection I propose to aid, by the use of my best judgment, and I want you to instruct me just as little as you dare. I don't want to go to Cincinnati with my hands tied. I want to go so free that if I see a good chance to do a good thing for you anywhere I can avail myself of it.

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Mr. Howard's plea prevailed, and instead of giving instructions the Convention resolved, "That the delegates this day chosen to represent us in the forthcoming National Convention be requested to act in the Convention with harmony and as much unity among themselves as possible, that they extend all proper courtesy to other delegations and treat with deference the opinions of those representing States less reliably Republican than our own, but under no possible circumstances to yield anything of Republican principle. While we are willing to waive personal preferences, our delegates must never consent to commit Republican principles to any standard bearer of doubtful position, or who does not in his own character afford assurance of the practice of economy, honesty and purity in all matters of administration."

Subsequently to this, and especially after Blaine's sunstroke on the Sunday preceding the Cincinnati Convention Mr. Howard assumed that the statesman from Maine would not be the strongest candidate, and used his powerful influence with the delegation against him. The delegation was badly split up on the first four ballots in the National Convention, which commenced its sessions in Cincinnati June 14. On the first and second ballots they voted Blaine, 8; Conkling, 1; Bristow, 9; Hayes, 4; on the third, Blaine, 8; Conkling, 10; Hayes, 4; on the fourth ballot, Blaine, 6; Bristow, 11; Hayes, 5. On the fifth, sixth and seventh ballots the whole 22 votes were cast for Hayes, who received the nomination on the seventh. For Vice President on the first ballot Wm. A. Wheeler was so far in the lead that other candidates were withdrawn and he was nominated by acclamation without completing the roll call.

The delegation was as follows: At-large, Henry P. Baldwin, Wm. A. Howard, Delos L. Filer, Jonathan J. Woodman. By districts: First, Wm. G. Thompson, Herman Kiefer; Second, Rice A. Beal, Charles Rynd; Third, Wm. H. Withington, Edward S. Lacey; Fourth, N. A. Hamilton, George Hannahs; Fifth, A. B. Watson, Benjamin D. Pritchard; Sixth, Wm. L. Smith, Wm. S. George; Seventh, John C. Waterbury, Samuel J. Tomlinson; Eighth, Theodore F. Shepard, A. H. Hoyt; Ninth, Wm. H. C. Mitchell, Edward Breitung.

The Convention appointments were: Vice President, Henry P. Baldwin; Secretary, Benjamin D. Pritchard; Committee on Credentials, George Hannahs; Permanent Organization, Delos L. Filer; Rules, Wm. H. Withington; Resolutions, Henry P. Baldwin.

The State nominating Convention was held at Grand Rapids August 3. Ex-Speaker Chas. M. Croswell, of Adrian, had been looked upon for several months as the coming man for Governor, but in July an attempt was made to bring out Wm. A. Howard. The plea was made in his behalf that after the disasters of 1874 there was need of an exceptionally strong and able man for candidate. This movement, however, gained no force, and Croswell was nominated by acclamation. The rest of the ticket was as follows: Lieutenant Governor, Alonzo Sessions; Secretary of State, E. G. D. Holden; Auditor General, Ralph Ely; Treasurer, Wm. B. McCreary; Land Commissioner, Benjamin F. Partridge; Attorney General, Otto Kirchner; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Horace A. Tarbell; Member of the State Board of Education, Witter J. Baxter. The Democrats nominated Wm. L. Webber for Gov-

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ernor, and the Greenback party, which now, for the first time, appeared in Michigan politics, nominated Levi Sparks.

Although it was a Presidential year the campaign was a comparatively quiet one, the Democrats confining their energies mainly to the states which gave them more hope than they could entertain of Michigan. The party strength was well maintained here, the vote standing for Republican electors, 166,534; Democratic, 141,035; Greenback, 9,060; Prohibition, 760; a Republican plurality of 25,439. Croswell's plurality for Governor was 23,534. The Democrats elected only one Congressman, Alpheus S. Williams, in the First or Detroit District. The Presidential electors chosen were Wm. A. Howard, Henry W. Lord, William Doeltz, Charles H. Kempf, Preston Mitchell, Delos Phillips, Jacob Denherder, Charles Kipp, Jeremiah Jenks, Benton Hanchett, Wm. Dunham.

In the long contest over the count that followed the election in the returning boards in Congress and the Electoral Commission Michigan bore a most conspicuous and honorable part. For Zachariah Chandler, as Chairman of the Republican National Committee was vigilant, bold and active in upholding Republican rights, while Senator Ferry as Acting Vice President and Presiding officer during the joint sessions of Congress, displayed the most admirable coolness, promptness and fairness in his decisions.

The Greenback Campaign of 1878.

From 1856 to 1876 the National Conventions had made the platforms for the Republican party in Michigan as well as in other states. But in 1878 there arose a new issue which the National Convention had not touched, and upon which the party in each state had to work out its own salvation. When the Republican leaders woke up on the morning after the April elections in 1878 they found that the small Greenback cloud, which was no larger than a man's hand in 1876, had suddenly over-cast the whole heavens. All through Southern and Central Michigan, and in some counties further north, the Greenback party carried township after township, and changed the political character of many whole boards of supervisors. In Kent County the Republican membership on the Board of Supervisors was reduced from 22 to 2, in Wayne from 23 to 14, in Gratiot from 18 to 8, in Barry from 10 to 3, in Bay from 16 to 7, in Branch from 18 to 5, in Calhoun from 17 to 7, and so on through a score of other counties, Greenbackers had taken most of the towns that the Republicans lost and some from the Democrats besides.

Buoyant and boastful, the Greenbackers declined proffers of Fusion with the Democrats, called their State Convention early, nominated a full State ticket, with Henry S. Smith at its head as candidate for Governor, and adopted a platform, which contained among other planks the following specific demands:

1. The unconditional repeal of the so-called Resumption Act.

2. The issue of all paper money by the General Government; only such money to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

3. That no more interest bearing bonds of the Government of any kind or class be issued, and that all bonds now outstanding be paid as speedily as possible.

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5. The coinage of silver to be placed upon the same footing as that of gold.
6. The repeal of the National Banking Law.

The fourth plank in the platform was a bid for the labor vote. Another demanded that all Government lands be reserved for settlers only, and still another deprecated "all efforts to redress wrongs by violation of the law," believing "that through the ballot box alone must we look for justice."

The resolutions were moderate compared with some of the speeches, at and after the Convention. By some process of ratiocination not very well defined, $2,000,000,000 was the amount of paper money fixed upon as about what was needed, and the demand was made that this amount be issued by the Government "direct to the people."

However unsound the Greenback views of the currency might be, the rising tide of their vote remained a matter of serious concern to the leading Republicans. A conference of about 75 of them was held at the Russell House in Detroit. A few of the more timid ones were in favor of making, in the Republican platform, some concessions to Greenback sentiment, but the majority agreed that this would not be honest politics nor good policy. Governor Croswell, who was a candidate for re-election, told the assemblage that they need not take his prospects into account. He wanted to stand on a sound money platform, and if that brought defeat, well and good. Senator Chandler was outspoken in favor of a strong, sound money platform, without evasion or equivocation. When asked if he would preside over a convention that made such a declaration, and take charge of the campaign afterwards, he said that he would if the Convention desired it. On the day before the Convention one of his timorous friends advised him to keep out of the campaign as far as he could, telling him that the Greenbackers were going to win, and that if he was too much idenitfied with a losing cause it would injure his future political prospects. To this suggestion Chandler's characteristic reply was: "You're a d—d coward in politics. I'm going to be Chairman of that Convention, and I'm going to be Chairman of the State Central Committee, and if the Republican party goes down in an honest money campaign I shall go down with it."

The Convention met in Detroit, June 13. The gravity of the crisis called out many delegates of the Croswell and Chandler mould, and these were probably more of the strong men of the present than at any other State Convention since that in Jackson which organized the party. James H. Stone was Temporary Chairman. Mr. Chandler, according to the plan outlined at the Russell House Conference, was Permanent Chairman. His opening speech uttered no uncertain sound, and the platform was equally explicit, three of its planks being as follows:

We denounce repudiation in any form and repudiators in every disguise. We regard the plighted faith of a community as binding upon all its members, and the failure to fulfill a public obligation as a stain upon both public and private honor; and we insist that the debts of the Nation shall be paid with the same fairness and integrity with which an honest man seeks to pay his individual liabilities.

We assert that no prosperity can be real or durable that is founded upon a fictitious standard; that the value of paper currency, whether issued by the government

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or the banks, is derived from its "promises to pay" and the credit that promise is worth; that the full benefits of such a currency cannot be realized unless it is convertible on demand into gold and silver; that a circulation of paper and coin interchangeable at par and at the will of the holder has been proved by experience to be the best known to commerce; that this country is too great to submit to a subordinate place among the commercial nations, and its people are too honest to be content with unredeemed and irredeemable promises, and in the name of all the producing classes and of every honest workingman, we demand a currency that is not only worth its face all over the Union, but will command respect, recognition and its full value in every market in the world.

We view with apprehension the spread of opinions and the growth of sentiments, as embodied and proclaimed in the platforms, resolutions, publications and speeches of the so-called National Greenback Party, and the various socialistic and communistic organizations and their advocates throughout the land, which if adopted as the policy of the Government, must bring disaster and ruin to business, discredit and dishonor upon the Nation, and tend to a high degree to subvert many of those principles which we regard as fundamental in the structure and support of free Government, and the Republican party will meet all these doctrines and tendencies with the most prompt, vigorous and uncompromising opposition.

Governor Croswell and Lieutenant Governor Sessions were renominated and the ticket was completed with the following nominations: Secretary of State, Wm. Jenny; Treasurer, Benjamin D. Pritchard; Auditor General, W. Irving Latimer; Land Commissioner, James M. Neasmith; Attorney General, Otto Kirchner; Member of the State Board of Education, George F. Edwards.

The unmistakeable voice of the State Convention in favor of sound money was generally echoed by the Congressional Conventions. In the Sixth for instance, a resolution was adopted, "That we are in favor of honest money, and hold that no money is honest money save that which is worth one hundred cents on the dollar, and that we are in favor of all the paper money that can be maintained without depreciation; and believe the only way to secure this is to make it redeemable in coin at the will of the holder."

It was a noticeable fact that in the final result the Republican vote was best maintained in those portions of the State where the campaign was vigorously conducted in accordance with the principles enunciated in the platform. In almost every case where the candidate weakened in order to retain the Greenback vote he lost that, and part of the Republican vote besides.

Michigan was the only Western State in which there was no yielding to any form of financial fallacy. Of its platform the New York Times said editorially the day after the Convention: "The Michigan Republicans have done well. Their platform has about it the clear ring of honest conviction, undulled by any half-hearted or halting compromise. So lucid and courageous an enunciation of the financial creed of the Republican party has certainly not been made this year, nor has the irreconcilable hostility to all forms of tampering with public credit and National honor been so resolutely and judiciously stated as by the Detroit Convention."

The conduct of the campaign was as bold as its inception. Mr. Chandler's confi-

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dential secretary, George W. Partridge, was made Secretary of the State Central Committee, and his handling of the detailed work left the Chairman free to take the stump. Joint debates were arranged between Hon. Wm. Williams, of Indiana, and Samuel F. Cary, the great Greenback light, Mr. Williams being admirably equipped to meet the financial sophistries of his rival. Joint debates were also held between Wm. S. George, of Lansing, and George Willard, of Battle Creek, in which the former upheld sound money doctrine. Distinguished speakers from abroad were also brought into the State including James G. Blaine, James A. Garfield and General Stewart L. Woodford. The Post and Tribune, of which James H. Stone was General Manager, and Chas. K. Backus was Editor, devoted whole pages to the financial discussion, for which Mr. Backus' statistical tastes and habit of thorough and critical examination of a subject peculiarly qualified him. Financial matters, usually considered dry, were eagerly read, and after campaign meetings disputants would stand on the street corners or sit upon the curbstone and argue the matter out till after midnight. No abstruse or theoretical questions ever before so absorbed the voters of Michigan.

The result of this campaign of education was a more complete Republican victory than the party leaders dared hope for when the campaign opened. Croswell's plurality over O. M. Barnes, Democrat, was 47,777, while his vote exceeded that of the Greenback candidate by 53,967. The aggregate vote of the two exceeded Croswell's vote by 25,536. But when, at the next spring election, they united on candidates for Supreme Court Justice and Regents of the University, they found that neither party could deliver all its votes, for the Republicans beat the two combined by majorities ranging from 5,381 to 6,143.

Conventions and Elections of 1880.

Michigan delegates to the National Convention in 1876 voiced the sentiments of their fellow Republicans at home by opposing the enforcement of the "unit rule" in the vote of State delegations. The Convention which met at Detroit, May 12, 1880, to send delegates to the National Convention at Chicago, though almost unanimously in favor of James G. Blaine for the Presidency, did not, therefore, instruct its delegates, but sought to accomplish the same purpose by selecting those who were in accord with their views. They accomplished this in the case of every delegate except one, and adopted a resolution, "That the choice of the Republicans of Michigan for President is James G. Blaine, and the delegates chosen this day to the Chicago Convention are requested to use all proper efforts to secure his nomination."

It was after this resolution had been unanimously adopted that a contest arose over the choice of first delegate at large, the candidates being James McMillan, who was recommended by the First Congressional District, but who up to the time the Convention met had not stated his choice for President, and James F. Joy, who was a pronounced Blaine man. During the discussion of these nominations State Senator Thomas W. Palmer said, amid frequent interruptions by applause:

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"Four years ago we sent a delegation to Cincinnati, and then, as you all know, Michigan was for Blaine, through and through. As a gentleman remarked afterwards all Michigan was for him except the delegation. I believe our delegation brought out the dark horse and put him in nomination. They were the first to stride him. That same thing is being planned and executed here today, and I say, as one of the representatives of this city and county, that I know the sentiments of the people here. Nine out of every ten of the Republicans of Wayne County want Mr. Blaine for President. Now why tinker around with a man—I do not care how good he is—why tinker around with a man who does not represent our sentiments. The fact is, it is not a conceded fact at all, either, that Mr. McMillan's first choice is not Mr. Blaine. He has asserted it to several gentlemen who are in this room today, and we have elected a district delegate behind him who will not state who he is going to vote for at Chicago."

The discussion of this subject became quite animated. Before it was over Mr. McMillan, who was in the hall, was called for, and announced that if he was elected delegate-at-large, he would support James G. Blaine every time. But this announcement came too late, and Mr. Joy was chosen by vote of 430 to 95 for McMillan. The other delegate referred to by Mr. Palmer was Wm. G. Thompson, who was selected by the First District caucus. Mr. Thompson was then mayor of Detroit, and of his attitude this statement was made at the time: "He was elected yesterday by Thompson men, and not by Grant, Blaine, Sherman, Washburne or Edmunds men as such. His attitude on the Presidential question is uncertain, and he himself has refused to absolutely define it. He is generally believed to be at heart for Grant, although he meets the direct charge to that effect with a denial that he has ever declared for Grant, and generalities about being 'nobody's man, but for the best possible candidate.' He was a delegate to the Cincinnati Convention of 1876 and voted there for Bristow until the change to Hayes."

The other delegates were all pronounced Blaine men. The complete list was as follows: At large, James F. Joy, Omar D. Conger, Perry Hannah, Erwin C. Watkins. By districts: First, Wm. G. Thompson, David O. Farrand; Second, J. D. Ronan, Louis R. Penfield; Third, Caleb D. Randall, Morgan Bates; Fourth, A. H. Morrison, J. W. French; Fifth, George A. Farr, A. B. Watson; Sixth, Charles Kipp, J. M. Adams; Seventh, Benjamin W. Huston, William Jenney; Eighth, E. O. Avery, Thomas N. Stevens; Ninth, Joseph H. Chandler, Delos A. Blodgett.

The Convention appointments were as follows: Vice-President, Perry Hannah; Secretary, Morgan Bates; Committee on Credentials, Omar D. Conger; Permanent Organization, Erwin C. Watkins; Rules, Joseph H. Chandler; Resolutions, George A. Farr.

It is not within the scope of this publication to describe the prolonged contest over the rules which occupied a great part of the time of the Committee on Rules or of the Chicago Convention for three days. They belong rather to general political history than to the history of the Republican party of Michigan. The attempt to enforce the "unit rule" for State delegations caused great dissensions both in 1876

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and 1880. It was thought that the Convention of 1876 had settled the matter, but the rule adopted was not explicit enough to prevent attempts to again enforce the unit rule by the New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois delegations. The Convention of 1880 disposed of the matter by the adoption of the following rule: "In the record of the vote by States, the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia shall be announced by the Chairman, and in case the vote of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition, but if exception is taken by any delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the Chairman of his delegation, the President of the Convention shall direct the roll of members to be called, and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the votes individually given." There was also added to the rule relating to the formation of the National Committee the clause, "Said Committee shall, within the next twelve months, prescribe a method or methods for the election of delegates to the National Convention in 1884; announce the same to the Country and issue a call for that Convention in conformity therewith; Provided, that such method or rules shall include and secure to the several Congressional Districts of the United States the right to elect their own delegates to the National Convention."

The ballotting for a candidate for the Presidency did not commence till the sixth day of the Convention and continued through 36 ballots. The vote for Grant commenced at 304 and ended at 306, his lowest being 302 on the twenty-fifth ballot and his highest 313 on the thirty-fifth. Blaine's vote ranged from 275 to 285 until the thirty-fifth when the first break was made to Garfield. Of the Michigan delegation Wm. G. Thompson voted steadfastly for Grant. The other 21 voted for Blaine through 34 ballots and then went to Garfield.

Michigan incidents of the Convention were the nominating speech for Blaine by James F. Joy and the reading by Mr. Conger of the following resolution which had been adopted by the State Convention: "That in view of the pure character, strong patriotism and eminent services rendered our State and Nation by Senator Thomas W. Ferry, during his long legislative career, both in State and National Councils, we hereby respectfully recommend and urge his name to the National Convention as a fit candidate for the nomination for Vice-President by the Republican party." In connection with this resolution Mr. Conger read a letter from Mr. Ferry, declining to be a candidate, and his name was therefore withdrawn. Chester A. Arthur was nominated for Vice-President on the first ballot, receiving 468 votes to 193 for Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, 44 for Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut; 30 for Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, and 16 scattered among five other candidates. The Michigan vote was 6 for Arthur, 14 for Washburne and 1 for Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi.

The State nominating Convention in 1880 was unique in its character, on account of the number of candidates who, with nearly equal strength, engaged in friendly rivalry. These were State Senator Thomas W. Palmer, who was ambitious to be the first native-born Governor of Michigan; David H. Jerome, who had long had aspira-

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tions in the same direction; Francis B. Stockbridge, who was a candidate as far back as 1872, when Bagley received his first nomination; John T. Rich, for two terms speaker of the House; and Rice A. Beal, who had before this made and unmade a good many officials, but who had never before aspired to office himself. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Republican Party at Jackson occurred the year before, and the Convention was called in that city in commemoration of that event. Roswell G. Horr was Temporary Chairman and Col. Henry M. Duffield Permanent. The first ballot for Governor gave the following result:

John T. Rich, of Lapeer	115
Rice A. Beal of Washtenaw	107
Thomas W. Palmer, of Wayne	105
Francis B. Stockbridge, of Kalamazoo	103
David H. Jerome, of Saginaw	102
Charles T. Gorham, of Calhoun	16
E. G. D. Holden, of Kent	1

There was but little change in the second ballot, Stockbridge began to lose in the third, Palmer on the sixth, and Beal on the eighth. The tenth gave the nomination to Jerome with 318 votes, to 238 for Rich and 4 for Beal. The candidates were all present, and half a dozen speeches, all in good temper, followed the announcement of the result. The ticket was completed with the following nominations: Lieutenant Governor, Moreau S. Crosby; Secretary of State, Wm. Jenney; Treasurer, Benjamin D. Pritchard; Auditor General, W. Irving Latimer; Land Commissioner, James Neasmith; Attorney General, Jacob J. Van Riper; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Cornelius A. Gower; Member of the State Board of Education, Edgar Rexford.

The combination which had been formed between the Democratic and Greenback parties in the spring of 1879 lasted only for the time, and in 1880 they made separate nominations, Frederick M. Holloway being the Democratic candidate for Governor and David Woodman 2d the Greenback. With this division of the opposition, the State was surely enough Republican, and the campaign was not an exciting one. The Republicans put their strongest speakers into the doubtful states. The result was a substantial victory. The vote on President was:

Garfield and Aruthr, Republican	185,190
Hancock and English, Democratic	131,301
Weaver and Chambers, Greenback	34,895
Dow and Thompson, Prohibition	938
Phelps and Pomeroy	312

Garfield's plurality in the State was 53,889 and Jerome's was 41,273. The Republicans elected all their Congressmen, with the following Presidential Electors: Chas. B. Peck, Samuel M. Stephenson, Edward H. Butler, Charles T. Mitchell, David R. Cooke, Charles Duncombe, Aaron B. Turner, Ira P. Bingham, Watson Beach, William H. Potter, Samuel A. Browne.

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A Fusion Governor in 1882.

In 1882 the Michigan Republicans met the first defeat in their history. Although Governor Jerome's plurality in his first run was at a very comfortable figure compared with that given at previous elections, yet he was the lowest on the ticket, his plurality being 13,345 less than the highest on the State ticket, and 12,616 less than that for Presidential electors. Although his administration was clean, able and honest, a certain austerity of manner and apparent indifference to the wishes of the Legislative branch of the Government had not added to his popularity. The charge was made, also, that upon an official trip to Yorktown to celebrate the anniversary of the surrender, there he was not only difficult of access, but regardless of the comfort of the private soldiers who accompanied him. Besides this there was a rising tide of temperance sentiment in the State, and the feeling in the party was very strong that a Prohibition amendment to the Constitution should be submitted to the people. Governor Jerome was openly opposed, not only to the amendment, but to its submission. On account of the opposition to him that had sprung up from these various causes, his friends were told plainly that it would be hazardous for him to run again, but they insisted upon the application of the two-term rule which had come to be generally accepted by the Republicans in respect to State offices.

The Convention met in a surly mood at Kalamazoo, August, 30th. It was soon evident that if a strong candidate was presented in opposition to Governor Jerome the latter could not be nominated. Presistent pressure was brought upon Thomas W. Palmer to make the run, but he absolutely refused, though in spite of his protests nearly a hundred delegates persisted in voting for him when the ballot was taken. J. W. French was Temporary Chairman of the Convention and Thomas W. Palmer Permanent Chairman. The platform adopted made reference to a number of State and National topics, and had the following as its most significant plank:

It is a fundamental right of the people to alter, from time to time, the organic law of the State, as new circumstances or growing evils may require, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such a form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. The evils of intemperance have bcome so great that, in the name of patriotism, most efficient measures ought to be taken to reduce these evils to a minimum, and as members of no political party are wholly agreed as to whether this can best be done by prohibition or regulation of the traffic in intoxicating liquors; and as the people are, and ought to be, the final arbitrators of this question; and as more than a hundred thousand among the moral and intelligent people of the State have asked by petition that that question be put to the people by submission to them of a prohibitory Constitutional Amendment, we declare that we believe it would be wise and patriotic for the next Legislature to submit such amendment to direct vote of the people and we demand that it be so submitted.

The ballot for nominee for Governor gave the following result: David H. Jerome, 561; Thomas W. Palmer, 97; Francis B. Stockbridge, 14; Benjamin F. Pritchard, 10; scattering, 10. The Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General were also renominated, and the ticket was completed with the following: Secretary of State, Harry A. Conant; Treasurer, Edward H. Butler; Auditor General, Wm. C. Stevens;

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Land Commissioner, Miner S. Newell; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Varnum B. Cochrane; Member of State Board of Education, Bela W. Jenks.

The Democrats and Greenbackers, or Nationals as they now called themselves, succeeded in forming a Fusion ticket, with Josiah W. Begole as the candidate for Governor. Mr. Begole was elected to Congress as a Republican in 1872, was defeated in 1874, and joined the Greenback party as soon as it came into prominence.

The campaign was an uphill one for the Republicans, and was made bitterly personal against Governor Jerome by the Fusionists and Prohibitionists, and by some in his own party. It resulted in his defeat by 4,572 plurality, though the rest of the Republican ticket was elected by pluralities ranging from 7,732 to 14,237. The Prohibition vote increased from 1,114 in 1880 to 14,237 in 1882. Under the apportionment made in 1881 the Congressional representation of Michigan was increased from nine to eleven, of these the Fusionists elected six.

The Close Election of 1884.

When the Republican National Convention met in Chicago, June 3, 1884, the contest for the Presidential nomination had narrowed down to a choice between President Arthur and James G. Blaine. Arthur succeeded to the Presidency at a time when there were bitter factional differencs in the party and conducted himself with rare discretion so far as party politics was concerned, and gave a clean and satisfactory administration of public affairs, two things which could not be said of any previous Vice President who had succeeded to the Presidency. There was a host of Republicans who thought he was entitled to the candidacy. But as opposed to this was the sentiment for Blaine, which was still very strong, and the fact that Arthur had not a majority of the delegation from his own state. Twenty of the New York delegates united in a message to the Convention in which they said: "Blaine can get more votes in the Convention than any other man, and he can carry the State triumphantly. An analysis of the Republican representation in the National Convention, on the basis of the Presidential vote of 1880, shows that from President Arthur's own State a decided majority of the delegates to the Convention are opposed to his nomination; that the overwhelming preponderance of delegates from the districts giving Republican majorities are for Blaine; that twelve Rpublican districts and four Democratic districts are for Blaine; that five other districts send Edmunds, or anti-Arthur delegates, while but five Republican districts send delegates for Arthur, the large majority of this support coming from Democratic districts; that in the Blaine districts there is an aggregate of 63,773 Republican majority, against 17,456 Republican majority in the Arthur districts. These facts and figures are conclusive that in New York, as in other states where the Electoral votes may be given to a Republican candidate for President, the direct Republican expression is in favor of James G. Blaine's nomination; indeed, that he is the accepted leader of the Republican party to a sure victory." This pronouncement from his own State, together with the fact that in the first ballot New York gave him only 31 votes to 29 for Blaine and 12 for Edmunds, proved fatal to his hopes. Neither of the two leaders had a majority of the Con-

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vention, and it remained for the supporters of favorite sons to determine the result. The four ballots taken were as follows:

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.
James G. Blaine, of Maine	334½	349	375	541
Chester A. Arthur, of New York	278	276	274	207
George F. Edmunds, of Vermont	93	95	69	41
John A. Logan, of Illinois	63½	61	53	7
John Sherman, of Ohio	30	28	25	...
Joseph R Hawley, of Connecticut	13	13	13	15
Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois	4	4	8	2
William T. Sherman, of Missouri	2	2	2	...

For Vice President on the only ballot taken General Logan had 779 votes, to 3 for Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, and 1 for J. B. Foraker, of Ohio. The rule in respect to representation was changed so as to read as follows:

"A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and the District of Columbia, shall name, through its chairman, a person to act as a member of the Committee who is eligible as a member of the Electoral College. Said Committee shall issue the call for a meeting of the National Convention six months at least before the time fixed for such meeting, and each Congressional district in the United States shall elect its delegates to the National Convention in the same way as the nomination of a member of Congress is made in said district; and in the territories the delegates to the Convention shall be elected in the same way as the nomination of delegates to Congress is made; and said National Committee shall prescribe the mode of electing delegates in the District of Columbia. An alternate delegate for each delegate to the National Convention, to act in case of the absence of the delegate, shall be elected in the same way and at the same time as the delegate is elected. Delegates at large, and their alternates, shall be elected by State Conventions in their respective states."

The clause providing that no person should be a member of the Committee who was not eligible as a member of the Electoral College was a delicate way of saying "no Federal officeholders need apply," and was adopted on account of the Civil Service rule forbidding such officeholders from soliciting or receiving campaign funds from Government employes.

The Michigan delegates to the Convention were: At large, Roswell G. Horr, William F. Swift, Samuel C. Watson, Julius C. Burrows. By districts: First, Russell A. Alger, Wm. S. Morey; Second, W. A. Underwood, Joseph T. Jacobs; Third, Edward C. Nichols, Wm. H. Powers; Fourth, S. T. Reed, Josiah Andrews; Fifth, George W. Webber, Henry F. Thomas; Sixth, M. D. Chatterton, Joseph E. Sawyer; Seventh, John P. Sanborn, R. R. Noble; Eighth, W. S. Turck, W. E. Watson; Ninth, M. P. Gale, Abel Anderson; Tenth, H. H. Aplin, George W. Bell; Eleventh, Seth C. Moffatt, Samuel M. Stephenson.

The Convention appointments were: Vice President, George W. Webber; Secre-

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tary, Seth C. Moffatt; Committee on Credentials, Edward C. Nichols; Permanent Organization, S. T. Read; Rules, George W. Bell; Resolutions, W. A. Underwood.

The delegates were without instructions of any kind. The Convention which appointed the delegates at large and confirmed the district delegates and which met at Grand Rapids, April 24, had simply resolved that "The Republicans of Michigan have confidence that the wisdom and patriotism of the Chicago Convention will formulate a platform and nominate candidates that the people will approve, and that will, next November, call out from the State of Michigan the old-time Republican majority."

The delegation, like many others under the method of electing by districts, was widely scattered in its votes on the different ballots; its votes for President were as follows: First, Blaine 15, Edmunds 7, Arthur 2, Wm. T. Sherman 2; second, Blaine 15, Edmunds 7, Arthur 4, W. T. Sherman 2; third, Blaine 18, Arthur 4, Edmunds 3 W. T. Sherman 1; fourth, Blaine 26.

The fall election of 1882, when the Republican candidate for Governor was defeated, and that in the spring of 1883, when the whole ticket was defeated, placed Michigan among the hotly contested, if not doubtful, states. The State nominating Convention, which convened at Detroit, August 13, 1884, was large in numbers, strong in the character of its members, and determined to put up a ticket that should redeem the State. Up to within six weeks of the time of the Convention Cyrus G. Luce was considered sure of the nomination, but General Russell A. Alger then entered the field, and surprised everyone by the celerity with which he gathered in the delegates. On the only ballot taken he received 371 votes and Luce 243. The rest of the ticket was as follows: Lieutenant Governor, Archibald Butters; Secretary of State, Harry A. Conant; Treasurer, Edward H. Butler; Auditor General, Wm. C. Stevens; Land Commissioner, Miner S. Newell; Attorney General, Moses Taggart; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Varnum B. Cochrane; Member of the State Board of Education, Bela W. Jenks. Jay A. Hubbell was Temporary Chairman of the Convention and Edward S. Lacey Permanent Chairman. The Democrats and Nationals fused on State and Electoral tickets, renominating Josiah W. Begole for Governor.

The campaign that followed was vigorously conducted. The State Central Committee distributed over two and one-half million documents, and arranged for 1,850 meetings, aside from those provided for by local committees. Outside speakers were numerous. General Logan spent three days in the State, and Mr. Blaine crossed Michigan during his western tour. He was accompanied by General John C. Fremont, General Alger, Frank Plumley, of Vermont, and Walker Blaine, and spoke at Detroit, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Jackson, Albion, Marshall, Battle Creek, Kalamazoo and Niles.

The campaign ended in the restoration of Michigan to the Republican ranks, though by a small plurality. The Republican Electors had 192,669 votes; the Fusion of Democratic, Greenback and anti-Monopoly Electors 189,631; straight Greenback (Benjamin F. Butler), 753; Prohibition, 18,403. The Presidential Electors chosen were: Dwight Cutler, Joseph B. Moore, James McMillan, Wm. S. Willcox, George H. French, J. Eastman Johnson, George S. Steketee, Josephus Smith, Geo. W. Jenks,

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Charles W. Wells, Lorenzo A. Barker, Seth McLean, John Duncan. The Prohibition vote for Governor was 22,207. The plurality for Alger was 3,953, or 915 more than that for President. The Fusionists elected seven out of the eleven members of Congress.

The Campaign of 1886.

Governor Alger declined a renomination, and when the State Convention met at Grand Rapids August 25, 1886, Cyrus G. Luce was nominated for Governor by acclamation. Of the old officers only Attorney General Taggart was renominated. The rest of the ticket was made up as follows: Lieutenant Governor, James H. McDonald; Secretary of State, Gilbert R. Osmun; Treasurer, George L. Maltz; Auditor General, Henry H. Aplin; Land Commissioner, Roscoe D. Dix; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Joseph Estabrook; Member of the State Board of Education, Samuel S. Babcock. Robert E. Frazer was Temporary Chairman of the Convention and Austin Blair Permanent Chairman.

The party had not had the two-thirds majority in the Legislature necessary to carry out its purpose, announced in 1882, of submitting to the people a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution. Its action reaffirmed that purpose in the following statement, which was part of its platform: "We believe that when any considerable portion of the people of the State desire to express themselves by voting upon a change of the organic law they ought to be allowed to do so in a Constitutional manner; and recognizing the evils of intemperance, and desiring to overcome these evils, we believe the Temperance question is one upon which that expression should be permitted. We further demand the thorough enforcement of the present tax and police laws as they stand upon the statute books." The Prohibition vote at this election rose to 25,179, and Governor Luce's plurality over George L. Yaple, the Fusion candidate, was only 7,432. But the Republican majorities were so well distributed that the necessary two-thirds majority in the Legislature was secured. A prohibitory amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the people at the April election, but through the heavy, and probably fraudulent majority of 22,309 against it in Wayne County, it was rejected. The vote stood: For, 178,636; against, 184,281. The Legislature then passed a local option law, under which nearly half the counties in the State adopted prohibition. The Supreme Court, however, declared this to be unconstitutional in its existing form, but took the unusual course of suggesting a form of local option law that would avoid these objections. At the election of 1886 the Republicans elected six members of Congress and the Fusionists five.

At the spring election in 1887 the Union Labor Party entered the field for the first time, but its vote never assumed formidable proportions.

Michigan Has a Candidate in 1888.

Although Mr. Blaine was defeated for the Presidency by a very narrow plurality in New York in 1884, he was still considered an available candidate for 1888. But he was then in Paris, and in ill health, and early in the year he sent letters to friends in

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this country positively withdrawing the use of his name. This, and the death of General Grant, left an open field into which a number of candidates entered, among them General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan.

The State Convention, which met in Hartman's Hall, Grand Rapids, May 8, to send delegates to the National Convention at Chicago was enthusiastically in favor of General Alger's candidacy, and unanimously adopted the following resolutions: "The Republicans of Michigan, desiring only the success of the principles and candidates of the great party that saved the Union, and renewing their pledges of loyal fealty to both, but recognizing the great worth and strong availability of their generous and noble-hearted fellow citizen, that gallant soldier, statesman and successful man of business, General Russell A. Alger, do hereby unanimously and earnestly recommend him as the man who should be chosen as the standard bearer of the party in the great contest about to ensue, and who, if so selected, will harmonize and unite the party everywhere, and lead the Republican hosts to certain and triumphant victory;" and "That all the delegates from Michigan are hereby requested to use all honorable means to secure his nomination."

During the proceedings of the Convention the following dispatch, sent from Washington to the President of the Alger Club, Detroit, was read amid great applause: "The National Veteran Club of the United States, located here in Washington, composed entirely of volunteers of the war for the Union, sends greeting to say that at a recent meeting resolutions were unanimously adopted, stating in substance that General Russell A. Alger, as the representative volunteer, is the successor to the place held by the late General John A. Logan in the hearts of the veterans and loyal people of this country."

The delegation to the Chicago Convention was made up as follows: At large, Robert E. Frazer, John K. Boies, W. Q. Atwood, Thomas P. Dunstan. By districts: First, Henry M. Duffield, John Atkinson; second, George Spalding, Charles T. Mitchell; third, Wm. A. Coombs, Charles E. Townsend; fourth, C. M. Ward, Bishop E. Andrews; fifth, A. B. Watson, C. P. Brown; sixth, Wm. McPherson, Jr., Wm. B. McCreary; seventh, Edgar Weeks, Harrison Geer; eighth, Roswell G. Horr, S. Perry Young; ninth, E. O. Shaw, George W. Crawford; tenth, N. M. Richardson, Green Pack, eleventh, Perry Hannah, Samuel M. Stephenson.

The following were the Michigan appointments in the Convention: Vice President, George W. Crawford; Secretary, Wm. B. McCreary; Committee on Credentials, Thomas P. Dunstan; Permanent Organization, John K. Boies; Rules, A. B. Watson; Resolutions, George Spalding; Temporary Secretary, Charles W. Clisbee; Temporary Reading Clerk, James H. Stone.

At the Alger headquarters, which were opened at Chicago, a devoted band of followers, including many besides the delegates, was in attendance. Assurances of support were received from many states, and there was every reason to believe that when the breaking away from the minor candidates came the chances for a stampede to Alger were as good as those for any other person.

The order of nominations was reached on the third day of the Convention, and

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General Alger's name was presented by Robert E. Frazer in an eloquent speech that was a model of convention oratory. His nomination was supported by Charles J. Noyes, of Massachusetts; Patrick Egan, of Nebraska; L. G. Estes, of North Carolina, and L. F. Eggers, of Arizona. The General was at one time much nearer to the nomination than the final figures indicate. He was second only to Sherman on the second and third ballots, and his supporters had the promise from three important delegations that, as soon as the Sherman vote showed a serious decline, they would turn to Alger and try to start a stampede in his direction. These promises were unquestionably made in good faith, but the promising delegations waited one ballot too long, and the stampede was to Harrison instead of to Alger. The following were the ballots in detail:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Benjamin Harrison (Ind.)	80	91	94	217	213	231	278	544
John Sherman (Ohio)	229	249	244	235	225	244	231	118
Russell A. Alger (Mich.)	84	116	122	135	142	137	120	100
Walter Q. Gresham (Ind.)	111	108	123	98	87	91	91	59
Wm. B. Allison (Iowa)	72	75	88	88	99	73	76	...
Chauncey M. Depew (N. Y.)	99	99	91	...	...	...	...	...
Jeremiah Rusk (Wis.)	25	20	16	...	...	...	...	...
Wm. Walter Phelps (N. J.)	25	18	5	...	...	...	...	...
John J. Ingalls (Kan.)	28	16	...	...	...	...	...	...
E. H. Filter (Penn.)	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wm. McKinley (Ohio)	2	3	8	11	14	12	16	4
James G. Blaine (Me.)	35	33	35	42	48	40	15	5
Robert T. Lincoln (Ill.)	3	2	2	1	...	...	2	...
Scattering	...	...	2	2	...	2	2	...
Whole number of votes	830	830	830	829	827	830	831	830
Necessary to a choice	416	416	416	415	414	416	416	416

General Alger's highest vote, that on the fifth ballot, was made up as follows: Alabama, 8; Arkansas, 14; Connecticut, 2; Florida, 5; Kentucky, 8; Louisiana, 3; Maine, 3; Massachusetts, 4; Michigan, 26; Minnesota, 3; Missouri, 14; Nebraska, 2; Nevada, 4; New York, 5; North Carolina, 9; South Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 10; Texas, 2; Virginia, 3; West Virginia, 2; Dakota, 2; New Mexico, 1; Washington, 3; total, 143.

The 26 Michigan votes were cast for General Alger on every ballot. After news of the result was received by the General at his home in Detroit, he sent to the delegation the following dispatch: "Please convey to the delegates who have so loyally supported my candidacy my heartfelt thanks. No State or man will give the gallant gentleman who has won this fight heartier support than Michigan and myself." The dispatch was read in the Convention, and was followed by the question and answer in chorus, which had already become very familiar to Michigan gatherings, "What's the matter with Alger?" "He's all right."

Upon the nomination for Vice-President only one ballot was taken, giving Levi P. Morton, of New York, 591; Wm. Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, 119; Wm. O. Brad-

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ley, of Kentucky, 103; Blanche K. Bruce, of Mississippi, 11; Walter F. Thomas, of Texas, 1. The Michigan delegation voted 9 for Bradley, 15 for Morton and 2 for Phelps.

The State nominating Convention met in Detroit August 8, with Charles W. Watkins as Temporary and George A. Farr as Permanent Chairman. Governor Luce was renominated, as were also the incumbents of the offices of Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Auditor-General, Land Commissioner and Superintendent of Public Instruction. Stephen V. R. Trowbridge was nominated for Attorney-General and Perry F. Powers for member of the State Board of Education.

There was a multiplicity of candidates for the Presidency this year, six regular tickets being in the field, besides an unusually large number of scattering votes. The regular tickets were Harrison and Morton, Republican; Cleveland and Thurman, Democratic; Fisk and Brooks, Prohibition; Streator and Cunningham, Union Labor; Cowdry and Wakefield, Union Labor; Curtis and Greer, American. In Michigan there were electoral tickets for only four of these: Republican, Democratic, Prohibition and the first Union Labor. The campaign in the State was animated, but never doubtful, and the Presidential vote was as follows: Republican, 236,387; Democratic, 213,469; Prohibition, 20,395; Union Labor, 4,555. The Presidential electors chosen were: Russell A. Alger, Isaac Cappon, Edward Burk, Junius E. Beal, Richmond Kingman, Joseph W. French, Don J. Leathers, James M. Turner, John S. Thomson, Elliott F. Grabill, Wellington W. Cummer, Henry P. Merrill, Perry Hannah

For State officers there were only four tickets in the field. The Democrats nominated Wellington R. Burt for Governor, and he was generally supported by the Nationals. Amherst B. Cheney was the Prohibition candidate, and Wildman Mills the Union Labor. The State Convention adopted the following temperance plank in its platform: "We cordially indorse the progressive temperance legislation enacted by the last Legislature, and regret that its full fruits were not realized, owing to technical defects in the laws, held by the Supreme Court to be in conflict with the Constitution. We record ourselves as in favor of the impartial enforcement of the temperance laws of the State, and recommend to the next Legislature the re-enactment of a local option law that shall be free from constitutional objections." Governor Luce was an advocate of strong temperance legislation, and this fact cost him many votes in Wayne County. But this attitude on the subject, together with the adoption of the above resolution, give him many votes which had gone to the Prohibition party two years earlier. The vote stood: Luce, 233,595; Burt, 216,450; Cheney, 20,342; Mills, 4,388. The Congressional delegation was all Republican except J. Logan Chipman, from the First District, and Justin R. Whiting, from the Seventh.

A Disastrous Campaign.

The campaign of 1890 began in a surprise and ended in disaster. Up to within five or six weeks of the time for which the Convention was called, John T. Rich, of Lapeer, ex-Speaker and ex-Congressman, seemed to have the field for the gubernatorial nomination all to himself, but about that time James M. Turner, of Lansing, com-

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menced an active and, as it proved, a successful canvass. The Convention met in Detroit August 27, with Judge P. T. Van Zile as Temporary and Austin Blair as Permanent Chairman. The only ballot taken on the nomination for Governor gave Turner 499 votes to 455 for Rich, and the ticket was completed as follows: Lieutenant Governor, Wm. S. Linton; Secretary of State, Washington Gardner; Treasurer, Joseph B. Moore; Auditor-General, Theron F. Giddings; Attorney-General, Benjamin W. Huston; Land Commissioner, John G. Berry; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Orr Schurtz; Member of the State Board of Education, James M. Ballou.

The Legislature elected two years previously had passed a new Local Option Law which stood the test of the courts, but the temperance tide, so far as active work went, had somewhat receded, and only a very few counties had availed themselves of the law. But the sentiment, though dormant, was easily aroused. The temperance plank adopted by the Convention this year simply "reaffirmed the position of the Republican Party heretofore expressed in its State platform of 1886 and 1888 upon the Temperance Question." With a satisfactory candidate this might have answered, but Mr. Turner was especially obnoxious to the temperance people, both in the views which he held and in the fact that he rented property in Lansing for saloon purposes. There were other things in his past, particularly in his financial record, which did not very well bear the searchlight which the Democrats turned upon it. The result of the Republican disheartened and defensive campaign was a falling off of 61,375 votes, as compared with the vote for Governor two years earlier. Part of this went to the Prohibition candidate, part to the Industrial, and the rest stayed at home. The Democratic vote was 32,725 less than the Fusion vote of two years earlier. The Industrial vote increased 8,810 and the Prohibition 8,339. The totals were: Edwin B. Winans, Democrat, 183,725; James M. Turner, Republican, 172,205; Asariah W. Partridge, Prohibition, 28,681, being the largest vote ever cast for the party in the State; Eugene S. Belden, Industrial, 13,189. Governor Winans' plurality was 11,520. The rest of the Democratic State ticket was elected by majorities ranging from 887 to 3,536. The Democrats also elected 7 out of 11 members of Congress.

With their customary fatuity, however, the Democrats at once set out to give the State back to the Republicans. In the Legislature they had a majority in the House. The Senate had 14 Republicans, 14 Democrats and 4 Patrons of Industry, one of whom almost invariably voted with the Democrats, and the other three acted independently. A Republican State Convention for the nomination of candidates for the spring election was held in February, and most of the Republicans attended it, relying upon the promise of leading Senators on the other side that no political action should be taken during their absence. A majority of the Democratic Senators, however, said that this promise was unauthorized and was not binding upon them. They accordingly took advantage of the absences by unseating two Republican members, and seating their Democratic opponents, and this was done in violation, not only of justice, but of parliamentary rules. In both of the unseating cases documents were presented as reports of committees which had never even been brought before those committees; two Senators were recorded as voting when they were not in the Senate

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chamber; in several cases the minority were denied recognition by the presiding officer, and throughout almost the whole proceedings an officer of the Democratic State Central Committee, but not a member of the Senate, stood at the elbow of Lieutenant Governor Strong, who was presiding, and brazenly dictated the rulings which that official meekly made. The journal was falsified, and the next day the Senate deprived the minority of the right of protest guaranteed by the Constitution, and refused the petition made by six Senators that the journal be corrected in places where it had erroneously recorded their votes. The two Senators thus seated were secretly sworn in, and were allowed to vote upon their own cases.

Having thus secured a bare majority in the Senate to co-operate with that in the House, they proceeded to enact a number of partisan measures, two of which were especially offensive. These were the Miner Law, which provided for the choice of Presidential electors by Congressional districts instead of on a general ticket, and the apportionment law, which, instead of making two compact Congressional districts out of Wayne County and of territory immediately adjoining, placed the townships in three different districts, extending nearly a hundred miles in one direction and two hundred in the other. The Supreme Court held the Miner Law to be valid, and under it the Democrats received five electoral votes in 1892, the only votes of that kind they have received in Michigan in fifty years. The law was promptly repealed when the Republicans came into power two years later.

The apportionment proved a boomerang. Wayne County in the period immediately preceding this had gone strongly Democratic, and the townships were assigned to outside districts. But within four years Wayne became the strongest Republican county in the State, and in a number of elections it has been the Wayne end of the outlying disticts that has made them safely Republican. These and other measures were so obnoxious as to cause a reaction, and swing Michigan back into the Republican column, and it has remained there ever since, with constantly increasing majorities. Even in 1892, when the Democratic tidal wave swept over most of the country, Michigan gave one of its old time Republican majorities.

The Campaign of 1892.

The National elections of 1890 and 1892 were among the unaccountable freaks of American politics. The Harrison administration was able, clean and conservative. The country was prosperous. Work was plenty and was well paid. The McKinley Tariff Act, which was passed early in the term, gave promise of making industrial conditions better even than they then were, and certainly had caused no injury to business. Yet in 1890 the Republicans were reduced in the Lower House of Congress from a fair working majority to a hopeless minority, and in 1892 Cleveland, who had left the Presidency four years earlier under a cloud of unpopularity, was again chosen by an electoral vote of almost two to one for his former opponent. The large increase in the People's Party vote accounts for part of it. The rest is unaccountable.

The Republican National Convention met in Minneapolis June 7, and had in its membership as delegates from Michigan the following: At large, Dexter M. Ferry,

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Charles W. Wells, Delos A. Blodgett, James M. Wilkinson. By districts—First, Henry M. Duffield, Wm. H. Elliott; Second, Wm. H. Withington, Wm. S. Willcox; Third, Charles Austin, Charles L. Truesdell; Fourth, Fred E. Lee, George W. Merriam; Fifth, James H. Kidd, L. M. Sellers; Sixth, Marshall E. Rumsey, Salmon S. Mathews; Seventh, John W. Porter, George W. Jenks; Eighth, Aaron T. Bliss, Wm. M. Kilpatrick; Ninth, Charles H. Hackley, Fred M. Diggins; Tenth, Selwyn Eddy, Robert J. Kelley; Eleventh, George P. Stone, Thomas T. Bates; Twelfth, Orrin W. Robinson, John Q. Adams.

The Convention appointments for Michigan were: Vice-President, Delos A. Blodgett; Secretary, James H. Kidd; Committee on Credentials, Aaron T. Bliss; Permanent Organization, James H. Wilkinson; Rules and Order of Business, Wm. H. Withington; Resolutions, Charles Austin.

Up to within a few days before the Convention met it appeared as if President Harrison would be renominated without opposition, but finally James G. Blaine reluctantly consented to the use of his name, and Wm. McKinley was brought forward against his protest. There were a few dramatic scenes in the Convention, and there were flattering evidences of the popularity of both Blaine and McKinley, but their late conceived candidacy was rather a diversion than a real contest. On the only ballot taken President Harrison received 535 votes, to 182 each for Blaine and McKinley, 4 for Thomas B. Reed, and one for Robert T. Lincoln. The Michigan delegation voted 19 for McKinley, 7 for Harrison, and 2 for Blaine. For Vice-President Whitelaw Reid of New York was nominated by acclamation. The Democrats renominated Grover Cleveland for President, with Adlai Stevenson of Illinois for Vice-President. The third party this year called itself the National People's Party, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-President. The latter polled 1,122,045 votes, and secured 22 electoral votes; Cleveland 5,556,533 in the popular vote with 277 electoral votes, and Harrison had 5,175,577 in the popular vote, with 145 electoral votes.

The Republicans of Michigan put up a very different campaign from that in the country at large. The State nominating Convention was held at Saginaw July 20. It was at this time that Hazen S. Pingree, who, as mayor of Detroit, had revolutionized a number of things, first began to enliven State politics. The nomination for Governor had been almost universally conceded to John T. Rich, but shortly before the Convention Pingree entered the race with assurance of support from the entire Wayne County delegation, and a few other counties. He was too late, however, and the only ballot taken gave him but 210½ votes to 579½ for Rich, 5 for James O'Donnell, and 1 for Washington Gardner. Mark S. Brewer was both Temporary and Permanent Chairman of the Convention, and the ticket was completed with an entire new set of candidates, as follows: Lieutenant Governor, J. Wight Giddings; Secretary of State, John W. Jochim; Treasurer, Joseph F. Hambitzer; Auditor General, Stanley W. Turner; Commissioner of the State Land Office, John G. Berry; Attorney-General, Gerritt J. Diekema; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Henry R. Pattengill; member of the State Board of Education, E. A. Wilson. The Democrats nomi-

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nated Allen B. Morse for Governor, the People's Party John W. Ewing, and the Prohibitionists John Russell.

The campaign was long and animated, and resulted in the following Presidential votes: Harrison and Reed, 222,708; Cleveland and Stevenson, 202,296; Bidwell and Cranfill, Prohibition, 20,857; Beaver and Field, 19,931. Republican plurality, 20,412. The Presidential electors, chosen by districts under the Miner law, consisted of five Democrats and nine Republicans, as follows: George H. Durand, Jay A. Hubbell, Rufus W. Gillett, Edwin R. Smith, Otto Ihling, Philip T. Colgrove, Conrad G. Swenberg, Henry H. Haigh, Frank W. Hubbard, Fred Slocum, Justus S. Stearns, Worthy L. Churchill, Julius T. Hannah, John T. Comstock.

The entire Republican State ticket was elected except Attorney General, upon which office the Prohibition vote went to the Democratic candidate. Rich's plurality was 16,090. Under the new apportionment the State was entitled to 12 Congressmen. Of these the Democrats elected 4 and the Republicans 8.

Easy Work in 1894.

The campaign of 1894 was a walkover for the Republicans. As the panic of 1873 caused a disastrous defeat of that party at the next Congressional elections, so the panic and resultant industrial depression of 1893 contributed to the complete overthrow of the Democracy a year and a half later. But there were other things that contributed to this result. President Cleveland's Hawaiian intrigue gave great offense to patriotic Americans. The Democratic dallying with the Sherman Silver Act, to the repeal of which both parties were pledged, and their juggling with the tariff, caused great uneasiness and loss to the business interests of the country, and all classes were ready for a change. In the Congressional elections the Democratic membership in the House was reduced from 218 to 103, and the Republican strength was increased from 130 to 245. Twenty-one States elected full Republican delegations, and only four sent full Democratic delegations.

Michigan did its share in this good work. The State Convention was held at Grand Rapids July 31, with Philip T. Colgrove as both Temporary and Permanent Chairman. Governor Rich was a candidate for renomination, to which, according to the two-term precedent of the party, he was entitled. Mayor Pingree would have been his natural successor two years later, but the impetuous mayor was not content to wait. His friends went to Grand Rapids with the 106 votes from Wayne County ready to do their bidding and prepared to make a contest. They received little encouragement from other counties, but instead of gracefully accepting the situation, they sulked, and, amid the ridicule of the whole Convention, voted blank. The ballot for Governor gave Rich 710, Aaron T. Bliss 98, blank 121. The ticket was completed as follows: Lieutenant Governor, Alfred Milnes; Secretary of State, Washington Gardner; Treasurer, James M. Wilkinson; Auditor General, Stanley W. Turner; Attorney General, Fred A. Maynard; Land Commissioner, Wm. A. French; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Henry R. Pattengill; member of the State Board of Education, Perry F. Powers. The vote at the election was about 52,000 less than that

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of 1892, but Rich's plurality was increased to 106,392. The entire Congressional delegation was Republican for the first time since 1880.

The Free Silver Campaign of 1896.

The campaign of 1896 was a repetition of that of 1878, though on a much larger scale, and with the feeling greatly intensified. In 1878 the fight of the Republicans was against unsound money in the form of fiat or irredeemable currency. In 1896 it was against the free coinage of a depreciated silver dollar, although the restoration of the protective tariff had also something to do with the canvass.

The National Republican Convention met in St. Louis June 16, covered a great many subjects in its long platform, and gave the following utterance upon the subject which formed the main issue of the campaign:

The Republican Party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

The nomination of Wm. McKinley, of Ohio, for the Presidency was determined long before the Convention met, and the only ballot given merely confirmed the verdict of the people already entered. It gave McKinley 661½; Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, 84½; Mathew Stanley Quay of Pennsylvania, 61½; Levi P. Morton, of New York, 58; Wm. B. Allison, of Iowa, 35½. For Vice-President Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, had 533½; Henry Clay Evans, of Tennessee, 277½; Wm. G. Buckley, of Connecticut, 39; General James A. Walker, of Virginia, 24; Charles Warren Cippett, of Rhode Island, 8.

Michigan was one of the first States to begin the organization of McKinley campaign clubs, and although some effort was made to secure delegates for Thomas B. Reed, it was futile. The solid McKinley delegation to St. Louis was as follows: At large—Russell A. Alger, Thomas J. O'Brien, John Duncan, Mark S. Brewer. By districts—First, David Meginnity, Freeman B. Dickerson; Second, James T. Hurst, Edward P. Allen; Third, Hamilton King, E. O. Grosvenor; Fourth, Frank W. Wait, Richard B. Wesser; Fifth, Gerritt J. Diekema, Wm. H. Anderson; Sixth, Wm. McPherson, George W. Buckingham; Seventh, John L. Starkweather, Wm. H. Aitken; Eighth, Oliver L. Spaulding, Theron W. Atwood; Ninth, Charles H. Hackley, Edgar G. Maxwell; Tenth, Temple Emery, J. Frank Eddy; Eleventh, Edgar P. Babcock, Charles L. Crandall; Twelfth, James McNaughton, Charles E. Miller. Their vote for Vice-President was: Hobart, 21; Evans, 7. The committee appointments of the delegation were: Credentials, Oliver L. Spaulding; Permanent Organization, Frank W.

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Wait; Rules, John P. Starkweather; Resolutions, Mark S. Brewer. James H. Stone, one of the alternate delegates, was reading clerk, and Henry C. Smith, another of the alternates, was one of the Honorary Secretaries.

The Democratic National Convention devoted a large portion of its platform to the silver question, one of its main planks being as follows: "We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract." The Convention nominated Wm. J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President, and Arthur Sewall, of Maine, for Vice-President, and this ticket was supported by bolting silver Republicans and by one wing of the Populists. Another wing of the Populists supported Bryan for President, but nominated Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for Vice-President, but the two sets generally united on their electoral tickets. Democrats who were opposed to the free silver movement met in convention at Indianapolis, September 8, and nominated John M. Palmer, of Illinois, for President, and Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. There were also two Prohibition tickets in the field, together with one Socialist Labor ticket.

There were those who thought that the action of the Wayne County delegation voting blank at the 1894 State Convention would destroy its influence at the next similar gathering, and injure Mayor Pingree's chances for the gubernatorial nomination. But a county with six or eight thousand Republican majority at the polls, with over a hundred delegates in the Convention, and a well-constructed machine back of it, could not lose its influence through one mistake. The solid delegation again presented Mr. Pingree's name in 1896, and at the Convention held at Grand Rapids, August 5. His principal opponent was Aaron T. Bliss, of Saginaw, though four other candidates were proposed. The first ballot gave Pingree 339, Bliss, 286; James O'Donnell, of Jackson, 83; David D. Aitken, of Genesee, 56; A. O. Wheeler, of Manistee, 47; Harry A. Conant, of Monroe, 22. Pingree's vote steadily increased, and he won on the fourth ballot, having 449 votes, to 293 for Bliss. The ticket was completed as follows: Lieutenant Governor, Thomas B. Dunstan; Secretary of State, Washington Gardner; Treasurer, George A. Steele; Auditor General, Roscoe D. Dix; Attorney General, Fred A. Maynard; Land Commissioner, Wm. A. French; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Jason E. Hammond; Member of State Board of Education, James W. Simmons.

The campaign in the State was a peculiar one. The Democrats, Populists and Free Silver Republicans united on Charles R. Sligh, of Grand Rapids, for Governor, and the Gold Democrats, Prohibitionists and Nationals each had a ticket in the field. The Chairman of the State Central Committee was Dexter M. Ferry, who was strongly in favor of the gold standard, and the committee campaign was made entirely on the silver and tariff issues. All the congressmen except one made their campaign on the same issues. Pingree, on the other hand, had decided free silver lean-

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ings, and wanted to make his campaign on his personal record and on State issues. Besides that he regarded Ferry and other members of the State Central Committee as his political enemies. Accordingly he opened separate headquarters, and conducted his own campaign. He visited the State Central Committee rooms only once during the campaign, and Ferry visited the Pingree headquarters not at all, and "they never spoke as they passed by."

The general campaign was the most exciting ever held in the State, especially in the manufacturing and business centers. In Detroit there were noon-day meetings on the large, vacant first floor of the Majestic building, at which both home and imported orators expounded the sound money or gold basis doctrine. But they would hardly vacate before free silver orators would take their places. Meetings were held on the street corners, at the factories, in vacant stores or any place where one could gather an audience. The State Central Committee arranged for more meetings, and sent out a vastly larger number of documents than ever before, while each candidate for Congress conducted a personal canvass of his own district.

The result in the country at large was a popular vote of 7,106,199, with 271 electoral votes for McKinley and Hobart, and a free silver vote of 6,502,685, so distributed by fusion tickets as to give Bryan for President 176 electoral votes, with 149 for Sewall and 27 for Watson for Vice-President.

The popular vote in Michigan was, for McKinley, 293,072; Bryan, 236,994; Palmer, Gold Democrat, 6,905; Joshua Levering, Prohibition, 4,938; C. E. Bentley, Prohibition, 1,815; Charles H. Matchett, Socialist Labor, 293. The Presidential electors chosen were: Josiah C. Gray, Frank W. Gilchrist, John Atkinson, Oscar J. R. Hanna, Sumner O. Bush, Harsen D. Smith, Wm. O. Webster, G. Willis Bement, Thomas B. Woodworth, Henry C. Potter, Digby C. Butler, Rasmus Hansom, Lorenzo A. Barker, Albert C. Hubbell.

The election for Governor was a personal triumph for Mr. Pingree, who not only led the State ticket, but who had a plurality over Sligh of 83,409, as against a plurality of 57,078 for McKinley. The Fusionists elected two Congressmen and the Republicans the other ten.

Governor Pingree in his first term brought into Michigan politics a new issue, that of equal taxation, which has occupied a prominent place in platforms and in legislation ever since. He secured the passage of a bill known as the Atkinson bill, which was intended to secure the equal taxation of all property, including that of railroad, express, telegraph and telephone companies. The Supreme Court implied in a decision on another measure that this act was unconstitutional. The Governor therefore called a special session of the Legislature, which proposed a Constitutional Amendment, expressly giving the Legislature the desired power.

A Light Vote in 1898.

The State Convention which met in Detroit September 21, 1898, with Grant Fellows as Temporary and E. O. Grosvenor as Permanent Chairman, renominated Pingree for Governor, and adopted the following among other resolutions: "We commend the present State administration for its earnest effort in favor of equal and just

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taxation of the property of railroad, telegraph, telephone and express companies. We favor the immediate repeal of the tax upon the gross earnings of railroad companies, and favor a tax to be levied upon the true value of railroad, telegraph, telephone and express companies' property, this value to be determined by a State board. The taxes collected therefrom shall be paid into the Primary School Fund. We endorse the principles of the Atkinson bill, and pledge the support of the Republican party thereto."

The ticket was filled out with the following nominations: Lieutenant Governor, Orrin W. Robinson; Secretary of State, Justus S. Stearns; Treasurer, George A. Steele; Auditor General, Roscoe D. Dix; Attorney General, Horace M. Oren; Land Commissioner, Wm. A. French; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Jason E. Hammond; Members of State Board of Education, E. F. Johnson and F. A. Platt.

The election, on a rather light vote, gave Pingree a plurality over Justin R. Whiting, the Fusion candidate, of 75,097. The Constitutional Amendment relating to taxation was adopted by the remarkably large vote of 442,728 for and 54,757 against. The Legislature elected at this time enacted a law similar in scope to that outlined in the Republican platform. The Republicans again elected the entire Congressional delegation.

The Elections of 1900.

The Presidential campaign of 1900 was virtually settled by that of 1896. In the intervening period a tariff act was passed which was accepted as settling that question for a long time to come. The country had come permanently to a gold basis and without any of the disasters which the free silver men had so gloomily predicted. Business was prosperous as never before, and our export trade was increasing at an unprecedented rate. Yet the Democrats, Populists and Free Silver Republicans again united upon Wm. J. Bryan for President. The Democrats nominated Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice-President, and the Populists named Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota for the same office. The Democratic National Convention at Kansas City, after a close and protracted struggle, accepted, without question, the following financial plank: "We affirm and endorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896 and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system, made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bi-metallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." The Republican plank on the same subject was very brief. It said: "We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world."

The Convention met in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, June 19, the Michigan delegates being as follows: At large: Frank A. Hecker, Delos A. Blodgett, Wm. McPherson, Jr., Wm. Parnall. By districts: First, Wm. Livingstone, August Marxhau-

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sen; Second, Charles L. Edwards, Leslie B. Robertson; Third, Edward N. Dingley, George E. Howes; Fourth, George E. Bardeen, George M. Valentine; Fifth, Henry Spring, Brinton F. Hall; Sixth, Frederick W. Higgins, Russell C. Ostrander; Seventh, John E. Wallace, Charles F. Moore; Eighth, Ralph Loveland, Harvey B. McLaughlin; Ninth, A. Oren Wheeler, Earl Fairbanks; Tenth, Edward F. Land, Victor B Sprague; Eleventh, Ren Barker, Wm. H. C. Mitchell; Twelfth, Murray M. Duncan, Thomas F. Cole.

The Convention appointments of Michigan men were: Vice-President, Ren Barker; Committee on Credentials, Russell C. Ostrander; Permanent Organization, Leslie B. Robertson; Rules, Wm. McPherson, Jr.; Resolutions, Edward N. Dingley; Temporary Reading Clerk, James H. Stone; Permanent Reading Clerk, Dennis E. Alward.

Wm. McKinley was renominated for President unanimously by acclamation. For Vice-President there were a large number of candidates in the field. The Michigan delegation caucused on the subject, on the second day of the convention, the vote showing 13 votes for Congressman Jonathan P. Dolliver, of Iowa; one for Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, of Massachusetts, one for Irving M. Scott, of California, and four not voting. Ex-Secretary of the Navy, Cornelius N. Bliss, was the choice of the administration, but he positively declined to go on the ticket. Before the time for making the nomination came, sentiment had crystallized upon Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, and he was nominated on the roll call of States by the unanimous vote of 925 delegates.

The State campaign in 1900 was noted chiefly for a strife for the Governorship between three wealthy men, each one of whom expended enough money on the preliminary canvass to have bankrupted Governor Bingham, or Wisner, or Blair, or Croswell, or Luce, or Rich. The Convention met at Grand Rapids June 27, with Ex-Speaker Daniel P. Markey as both Temporary and Permanent Chairman. The candidates for Governer were Aaron T. Bliss, of Saginaw; Dexter M. Ferry, of Detroit; Justus S. Stearns, of Ludington; Chase S. Osborne, of Sault Ste Marie; James O'Donnell, of Jackson, and Milo D. Campbell, of Coldwater. Upon the first ballot Bliss had 259, Ferry 251, Stearns 215, Osborne 61, O'Donnell 42 and Campbell 13. The votes remained without very wide variations till the eighteenth ballot, when the Ferry men began to break to Bliss, who was nominated on the nineteenth by 525 votes to 95 for Ferry, 7 for Stearns, 9 for Osborne and 135 for O'Donnell.

The ticket was completed with the following nominations: Lieutenant Governor, Orin W. Robinson; Auditor General, Perry F. Powers; Secretary of State, Fred M. Warner; Treasurer, Daniel McCoy; Land Commissioner, E. A. Wildey; Attorney General, Horace M. Oren; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Delos Fall; Member of the State Board of Education, James H. Thompson.

The platform affirmed "allegiance to the gold standard, believing that the free and unlimited coinage of silver by this Nation alone would bring about untold disasters," and also declared "That the Republican party renews its allegiance to the principle of equal and uniform taxation. All property owners in the State, whether

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individuals, copartners or corporations, should contribute their just share to the public burden and expense; and we demand that every dollar of wealth shall be taxed equally with every other. We favor the prompt repeal of all special railroad charters granting to any railroad in the State special privileges. We believe that all the railroads in the State should do business under the same general laws."

The Democrats and most of the Populists united on Wm. C. Maybury for Governor, and there were four other tickets in the field, Prohibition, Social Democrat, Social Labor and People's party.

Although the State was not in any sense doubtful, the campaign was pushed with vigor by the Republican State Central Committee, who sent out 105 speakers and arranged for over a thousand meetings. The result was a plurality of 104,584 for McKinley, 79,384 for Bliss, and about 98,000 for the rest of the State ticket. The Presidential electors chosen were Perry Hannah, Lyman G. Wilcox, Charles P. Collins, Joseph R. Bennet, Hiram M. Allen, Charles J. Monroe, John A. S. Verdier, Daniel Cotcher, John S. Thomson, Thomas A. Harvey, Edward Buckley, Edward B. Nugent, Michael Brown, James McNaughton. The Presidential vote in full was: Republcan, 316,269; Democratic, 211,685; Prohibition, 11,859; Social Democrat, 2,826; Social Labor, 903; People's party, 837. Notwithstanding the increase in population the total vote was only slightly in excess of that in 1896, being 544,602 in 1900, to 544,379 four years earlier. The Republicans again elected their entire Congressional delegation.

The Election of 1902.

The latter part of the campaign of 1902 was a spiritless one and the total vote cast for Governor was 402,226, being 142,000 less than the vote in 1896, and less than that of any other year since 1890. Considerable opposition to Governor Bliss developed in his own party, and the Democratic Convention gave careful consideration to the question of finding a candidate who could unite the entire opposition. George H. Durand, of Flint, ex-Congressman and ex-Supreme Court Justice, was finally fixed upon. But a paralytic attack rendered it impossible for him to make the canvass and later in the campaign his brother, Lorenzo T. Durand, of Saginaw, was placed at the head of the ticket by the State Central Committee.

In his own party the opposition to Governor Bliss was fostered mainly by Justus S Stearns, of Ludington, who finally entered the field as a candidate. The State Convention was held in Detroit, June 26, with Wm. Alden Smith as both Temporary and Permanent Chairman. Three candidates were named besides the Governor, but the two-term precedent, and the effective organization in his behalf were too strong to be overcome. He was renominated on the first ballot by 811 votes to 214 for Justus S. Stearns, 40 for George B. Horton, and 22 for John Patton. The ticket was completed as follows: Lieutenant Governor, Alexander Maitland; Secretary of State, Fred M. Warner; Treasurer, Daniel McCoy; Auditor General, Perry F. Powers; Land Commissioner, Edwin A. Wildey; Attorney General Charles A. Blair; Superintendent of Public Instruction, Delos Fall; Members of State Board of Education, Patrick H.

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Kelley, Luther L. Wright; Justice of the Supreme Court, to fill vacancy, Wm. L. Carpenter.

The change of candidates on the Democratic ticket had a discouraging effect upon that party, and the Republican campaingn lacked the old-time enthusiasm. The plurality for Governor Bliss was 37,184. That for the others on the State ticket varied from 72,584 for Maitland, to 75,839 for Blair, and 76,954 for Carpenter.

The Republican party of Michigan commenced its career pledged to opposition to the extension of slavery; in favor of a system of internal improvements by the General Government; to the maintenance of a protective tariff; to the enactment of a Homestead law, and to the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. It has seen all these things accomplished. In its youth the country was confronted with the most gigantic and most prolonged war of modern times, and nobly did the Republican party of Michigan do its part, both in measures and men. In the middle of its first half century it met the issues of financial heresy, and held aloft the banner of honest money and sound currency. It ends its first half century, fully committed to the new issues of equal taxation and primary election reform. The first of these is already more than half accomplished. The latter is one of the leading issues for the next campaign.

The Campaign of 1904.

The campaign of 1904 opened with Michigan Republicans fully committed to the renomination of President Roosevelt, but not committed to any one for the Vice-Presidency. The appointment of district delegates to the National Convention at Chicago was made by home conventions at different dates, and the delegates at large were chosen by a State Convention held at Grand Rapids May 19th. The list of delegates was as follows: At large, Dexter M. Ferry, Thomas J. O'Brien, Ralph Loveland, Thomas Walters. By districts: First, Allan H. Frazer, Dr. E. W. Haass; Second, George D. Jones, Charles Lewis; Third, Lucius M. Wing, F. A. Roethlisberger; Fourth, Charles Sweet, A. O. Dunham; Fifth, Wm. Judson, H. F. Harbeck; Sixth, F. P. Sayre, Dr. W. C. Huntington; Seventh, Wm. B. Williams, D. N. Lowell; Eighth, A. B. Markham, C. C. Vaughan, Ninth, Thos. Munroe, C. A. Palmer; Tenth, Wm. Reardon, L. G. Dafoe; Eleventh, Theodore Schmidt, A. B. Dougherty; Twelfth, John H. MacLean, John W. Wells.

The same convention nominated presidential electors as follows: Philip H. McMillan, Homer E. Buck, Henry M. Duffield, Edgar Rexford, Jssse E. Cropsey, Whitman E. Clark, Robert B. Loomis, E. G. McPherson, John A. Wallace, Wm. M. Smith, Harlow J. Dudley, Edgar B. Foss, A. B. Cogger, O. C. Davidson.

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CHAPTER VII.

MICHIGAN REPUBLICAN SENATORS.

A Review of the Senatorial Elections from 1857 to 1903—An Unbroken Succession of Republican Senators—Attempt to Beat the Caucus Nominee in 1862—The Close and Exciting Contest in 1871—Incidents of Chandler's Defeat in 1875—Senator Christiancy's Election, Political Views and Subsequent Retirement—The Close Contest Between Omar D. Conger and John J. Bagley in 1881—Bitter Warfare Waged Against Ferry and Election of Thomas W. Palmer in 1883—Good Natured Rivalry in 1887—Remarkable Unanimity at the Three Elections of Senator McMillan—Other Incidents of Recent Senatorial Elections.

In the fifty years of Republican supremacy in Michigan every United States Senator elected has been of that political faith, and all but two were the regular caucus nominees. Members of the newly formed party were impatient to obtain representation in the Upper House, but the opportunity did not offer until 1857, when the term of Senator Lewis Cass expired. General Cass has been the most conspicuous political figure in Michigan politics since 1813. Zachariah Chandler succeeded not only to the Senatorship, but also to the position of political supremacy, which he occupied till his death in 1879. For, although he was defeated for the Senate in 1875, he still held the highest place in the affections of Michigan Republicans, and in influence with them. It is an interesting fact that one little corner of the Granite State furnished to Michigan these two sturdy political leaders, as well as that pioneer in western railroad construction, James F. Joy. The birthplaces of these three eminent men were all in Southeastern New Hampshire, and from 10 to 25 miles apart.

Mr. Chandler was the last Whig candidate for Governor, and the large vote which he polled in comparison with the rest of the ticket led the Whigs, in a hopeless minority in the Legislature of 1853, to give him a complimentary vote for the United States Senate. Charles E. Stuart was the Democratic candidate, receiving 76 to 28 for Chandler, and one Free Soil vote for Hovey K. Clarke.

The Legislature of 1857 had 92 Republican members to 16 Democrats, and the contest for the Republican Senatorial nomination was quite animated. Mr. Chandler was decidedly in the lead from the start, though on the first two ballots he lacked a majority. Although he had a clear majority on the third and fourth ballots, they

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were both considered informal, and his nomination was not announced till the fifth, or formal ballot, was taken. The record of the votes was as follows:

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th
Zachariah Chandler	37	45	49	54	80
Isaac P. Christiancy	17	21	22	33	1
Austin Blair	11	7	6	..	..
Moses Wisner	12	9	10	..	..
Jacob M. Howard	6	6	3	3	4
Kinsley S. Bingham	3	4	1	..	..
George A. Coe	4	..	..	..	..
James V. Campbell	1	..	..	..	..
Halmer H. Emmons	..	..	..	1	1
Blank	..	..	1	..	..
Total	91	92	92	91	86

Of the men who, in this caucus, received votes for the Senatorship, three besides Chandler afterwards attained that honor. They were Bingham, Howard and Christiancy. Of those who as members of the Legislature, voted for Chandler, two, Thomas W. Ferry and Omar D. Conger, attained the same distinction.

Mr. Chandler was brought before the caucus, and was greeted with prolonged cheering. Of what followed an eye witness said: "This was the only time in an acquaintance of nearly thirty years that I ever saw Mr. Chandler abashed. When brought before the caucus he trembled with emotion, and it was several minutes before he could compose himself to even briefly return his thanks. He has often said that it was the only time that his courage and nerve absolutely failed him, and that he completely broke down. The greeting was so hearty and unselfish that it overcame him and he trembled like a child." Those who afterwards saw Chandler in an attitude of bold defiance of the whole arrogant Democratic and Southern sympathizing majority in the United States Senate, can hardly imagine him trembling and blushing before a Michigan Legislative caucus, made up largely of his friends.

The term of the last Democratic United States Senator, Charles E. Stuart, expired in 1859, and the Republicans then came fully into their own. At the Senatorial caucus, held January 7, an informal ballot gave Kinsley S. Bingham 48 votes; Fernando C. Beaman, 18; Austin Blair, 12; David S. Walbridge, 2; Hezekiah G. Wells, 1. A formal ballot followed, giving Governor Bingham 74 out of 80 votes.

Governor Bingham did not live long enough to achieve that distinction in the Senate to which his ability and sound sense would, in time, have entitled him. His death, October 5, 1861, brought on a Senatorial election at the special session of the Legislature in 1862. The event called into the field a numerous body of men who were candidates, or thought they were, for the honor. In fact, there were so many of them that on the first ballot Mr. Scattering had more votes than any one of the five real candidates. The seven ballots taken gave the following results:

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th
Jacob M Howard	21	33	38	39	39	44	49
Austin Blair	20	16	15	13	13	11	9

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Hezekiah G. Wells	16	17	15	14	13	12	14
Henry Waldron	11	9	9	10	11	9	5
Isaac P. Christiancy	2	6	12	16	16	16	12
Scattering	22	12	4	2	1	1	2
Total	92	93	93	94	93	93	91

In 1862 the draft, heavy war taxes and reverses to the Union armies caused a political reaction, which proved disastrous in many of the Northern States. New York elected Horatio Seymour, Governor, and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois gave majorities against the Republicans, generally under the name of the "Union" ticket. Michigan stood firm, although some conservative Republicans united with the Democrats in organizing a "Union" movement. The Republican majority in the Legislature was very much reduced, and a vigorous onslaught was made upon Senator Chandler, whose views were of the most radical type. The caucus was unanimous for him, but the Unionists endeavored to detach votes from him in the Legislature by nominating James F. Joy, whose antecedents were all Republican. The effort failed, as Mr. Chandler received the full Republican vote and two Fusionists besides. The vote in the Legislature stood Chandler, 83; Joy, 45; Alpheus Felch, 2; Hezekiah G. Wells, 1. Solomon L. Withey, 1.

In 1865 there were only two candidates for the Republican nomination, Jacob M. Howard, whose first term was just expiring, and Austin Blair. Mr. Howard was nominated by 56 votes to 42 for Mr. Blair.

The next Senatorial election, that of 1869, was without incident of special note. Out of 132 members of the Legislature, the Republicans had 99, of whom 96 were in the Senatorial caucus. Senator Chandler received 73 votes, Thomas W. Ferry, 3, and Austin Blair, 3. There were 6 blanks, and the other 11 were complimentary votes given to seven different candidates.

Although this election was so quiet it had after results of some moment. Mr. Blair afterwards claimed that there was an understanding between himself and Mr. Ferry that they should combine their influence to defeat Chandler, and elect someone from the interior of the State. Much to his disappointment, Mr. Ferry did not go to Lansing at all, and there was no opportunity to ascertain how much real anti-Chandler sentiment there was in the Legislature. A few weeks after that Dr. George W. Fish, of Flint, wrote to Governor Blair that he had learned, through a conversation with ex-Congressman Strickland why it was that Ferry failed to meet his engagement at Lansing. He averred that an agreement had been made, under which, in return for ceasing his opposition to Chandler at this time, Ferry was to have the support of the Chandler forces two years later, when Jacob M. Howard's time expired. Mr. Blair, in reply, wrote an extremely savage and exasperating letter, in which he assailed Howard, Chandler and Ferry in the severest terms. This letter, in some manner concerning which the accounts disagree, became public, and served to embitter the next Senatorial contest, which came in January, 1871.

Jacob M. Howard, whose term was about to expire, was not only one of Mich-

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igan's most eminent men, but was one of the ablest members of the Senate. But he lacked the arts of the politician, which one of the opposing candidates possessed in an eminent degree, and he was confronted with the growing feeling that Detroit was getting more than its share of political honors. That city then had the Governor, both United States Senators, the Chairman of the State Central Committee and was the headquarters of that committee. The western part of the State was clamorous for at least a Senatorship.

In the Legislative caucus, besides Mr. Howard, there were three other candidates, Austin Blair, of Jackson; Wm. A. Howard, of Grand Rapids; and Thomas W. Ferry, of Grand Haven. Before the balloting began Mr. Blair was supposed to be in the lead, though far short of a majority. But Mr. Ferry had at his back the most enthusiastic, energetic and active lobby of young men who had, up to that time, appeared at Lansing. The full 97 votes were cast on every ballot, 49 being necessary to a choice. Following is the record of the six ballots taken:

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.
Thomas W. Ferry	30	32	37	37	41	50
Austin Blair	30	31	35	40	43	43
Jacob M. Howard	20	18	16	15	9	4
Wm. A. Howard	17	16	9	5	4	..

The caucus did not sustain Mr. Strickland's statement that the Chandler forces had agreed to support Ferry at this election. They were generally Anti-Blair, though at first divided among the three others. They finally went to Ferry, rather than see Blair elected. A few years later, Mr. Chandler said to the writer, in speaking of the incidents of that period: "I think now, that I could not at that time have elected either of the Howards if I had tried to. I might have elected Mr. Blair, but I did not choose to."

This was the last attempt of Governor Blair's to obtain the nomination to the United States Senate, for which he had been seven times a candidate. He rendered great service to the State and to the Republican party and rceived from the latter, a number of times, high honors, but he was finally disappointed in this, his chief political ambition.

The feeling engendered in this contest was a factor, though not a very important one, in the defeat of Mr. Chandler, four years later. The political tidal wave which swept many of the Northern States into the Democratic column in 1874 left Michigan Republican, but by a small majority on the State ticket, and with comparatively small preponderance in the Legislature. The latter consisted of 53 Republicans to 47 Democrats in the House, and 18 Republicans to 14 opposition in the Senate. Among the latter was the Dr. George W. Fish, whose correspondence with Governor Blair had cut such a figure in the Senatorial campaign of 1871. Dr. Fish was elected as an Independent, but always acted with the Democrats, and was especially bitter toward Mr. Chandler. With a majority of only ten on joint ballot, the defection of six men was enough to defeat a Senatorial candidate, and strenuous efforts were made long before the Legislature met to bring about this result. These efforts first took the form of

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inducing Republican members to stay out of the Senatorial caucus, so that they might be free to act upon their individual judgment when the time of the election came. This was so far successful that only 57 out of the 71 Republicans attended the caucus. These gave Chandler 51 votes, J. Webster Childs 3, and John J. Bagley and James V. Campbell one each.

Life was made very weary for the 14 Republicans who had stayed out of caucus during the interval of 12 days that intervened between that event and the election. They were subjected to perpetual hauling, this way and that, by personal interview, by threats and promises from both sides, by letters and by petitions and remonstrances from their constituents. In the end seven of them came to the support of Chandler. The others agreed among themselves not to support any Democrat, but to vote for any sound Republican upon whom the Democrats might agree.

The Democrats had almost as hard a problem to solve as the Republicans. Several of their number were averse to voting for any one not of their own party, and a number of others preferred Chandler to any other Republican. The various moves upon the chessboard of politics have lost their interest now, but were watched and recounted with the greatest interest then. It is sufficient now to say that up to January 19, the day appointed by law for the election, the Democrats had not been able to unite upon any Republican. The vote taken then gave Chandler 17 in the Senate and 46 in the House, a total of 63, or four less than the number required to elect. The opposition vote went to 9 different candidates in the Senate and 13 in the House. The next day, in joint convention, the Democrats gave the solid vote of those present, 60 in number, to G. V. N. Lothrop. Chandler had 64, Isaac P. Christiancy 5, and J. Webster Childs 2. The Democrats spent that evening in the effort, in which they were finally successful, to unite upon Supreme Court Justice Isaac P. Christiancy, and the bolting Republicans, with one exception, came to their support. The vote gave Christiancy 68 and the election, Chandler 63 and John J. Bagley 1.

Christiancy and Chandler had before this been rivals. The former was the Free Democrat and the latter Whig candidate for Governor in 1852, and when Chandler was first elected to the Senate in 1857, Christiancy was his chief opponent.

The election of Christiancy was a disappointment, not only to the Republicans at the time, but to the Democrats afterwards. Many of the Democrats were induced to vote for him by the assertion that he was as good a Democrat as any of them, and he had been out of politics so long that there was no means of disproving the assertion. But in an interview that same afternoon, he clearly stated his position. He opened the interview by saying that he was as good a Republican as ever. It had been repeatedly stated that he voted for Greeley in 1872, and that he was desirous of a nomination for Congress at that time on the Greeley ticket. Neither of these statements was true. He supported Grant in that election. During the campaign he received several letters asking him to run for Congress on the Greeley ticket, and the answers he wrote to the letters would, if the parties had been candid enough to publish them, have shown very emphatically that he was opposed to the Greeley movement. He heartily supported, and always had, the amendments to the Constitution made by the Republicans.

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He had always advocated free trade doctrines when there was opportunity to adopt them. But as long as we had a large public debt we must have a large revenue, and part of it must come from the tariff. The policy of free trade was utterly impracticable at that time, and as long as we had a tariff it might profitably furnish incidental protection. On the currency question, which was then agitating congress, he was in thorough accord with Senator Chandler's views, and thought that Chandler's speech in the Senate was the most sensible statement on that subject that he had seen.

In the Senate Mr. Christiancy uniformly acted with the Republicans. But he was out of his element there. In his young manhood, he had been much of a politician and man of affairs, but seventeen years on the Supreme Court bench had so changed his tastes and habits of thought as to make the senatorial life irksome to him. In February, 1879, he resigned, in order to accept the position of minister to Peru. The Legislature was then in session, and sentiment turned at once to Chandler as the proper successor to his old seat. In the caucus, February 13, he received 69 votes, John J. Bagley 19 and Thomas W. Palmer 1. In the election Chandler received the full Republican vote, 88 in number. Orlando M. Barnes, Democrat, had 22, and Henry Chamberlain, National, 18.

Senator Chandler's sudden death, October 31, 1879, created a vacancy which it was Governor Croswell's duty to fill. He first tendered the appointment to ex-Congressman Fernando C. Beaman, who held it under advisement for a few days, and then declined it. The appointment was then offered to ex-Governor Henry P. Baldwin, who accepted it.

The Legislature of 1881 had the election of a Senator for the two remaining months of the unexpired term, and for the full term commencing March 4th. For the former Senator Baldwin was renominated without opposition. For the full term the contest was, in the end, the closest of any that has occurred in Michigan. Of the 132 members of the Legislature 116 were Republican, and these were all present at the caucus. Henry P. Baldwin and John J. Bagley, of Detroit, and Congressman Omar D. Conger, of Port Huron, were the candidates. Exaggerated claims as to their strength were made by the friends of both Bagley and Baldwin before the caucus, Baldwin's friends claiming 51 votes for him, and Bagley's friends going as high as 62. There were a good many uncertain votes, and to this day no one knows how two or three of the members voted on the final ballot. On the first ballot Jonathan J. Woodman had one vote, and the rest of the votes were as follows:

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.
Omar D. Conger.....	32	33	34	36	36	38	59	59
John J. Bagley.....	43	45	44	44	45	48	58	57
Henry P. Baldwin.....	40	38	38	36	35	30	..	..

After the sixth ballot Senator Baldwin's name was withdrawn, and the attempt was made, in the withdrawing speech, which was made by Senator Farr, of Ottawa, "to substitute in its place the name of the Great Commoner, Omar D. Conger." But this attempt to stampede the Baldwin vote bodily was checked by Senator Patterson, of Calhoun, who jumped upon a chair and said: "I have the right to control my

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own vote. I have voted for Henry P. Baldwin as my first choice. Now I vote for John J. Bagley as my second choice."

The lobby in Lansing, from the opening of the session till the time of the caucus, was one of the largest ever gathered there, each candidate being represented by many prominent and influential Republicans. These friends of the candidates filled the galleries, and even invaded the floor of the House, and the seventh and eighth ballots were taken amidst intense excitement. The seventh was thrown out because there was one more vote cast than there were members present.

The defeat of Governor Bagley by this close vote was all the more keenly felt by himself and his friends from the fact that they had an undisputed majority in the Detroit City Convention which nominated members of the Legislature, and might have named whom they chose. They permitted to go upon the ticket one candidate who had not committed himself upon the senatorship, and who, in the end, turned against them. At the election in the Legislature, a fortnight after the caucus, Mr. Conger received the votes of all the Republicans present, 111 in number, and G. V. N. Lothrop received the 15 Democratic votes.

When Senator Thomas W. Ferry's first term expired, in 1877, he was renominated with no opposition, but when he came up again for election in 1883, a bitter warfare was waged against him. This commenced long before the Legislature met, and was engineered chiefly by a prominent Upper Peninsula man, who was himself a candidate, and by a few Detroit men with either grievances or ambitions. The party was in the mood for a quarrel. It had just met its first defeat in a State election, and there was the usual disposition to find some one upon whom to lay the blame. Senator Ferry, who had very little to do with that campaign, had to take more than his share of the burden, which belonged to others.

Before the time for the Senatorial caucus the opposition took form in a paper, signed by 19 Republican members, in which they resolved, "That we will attend any caucus of the Republican members of the Legislature wherein 67 votes are necessary to nominate a candidate for the United States Senate, and it is so stated in the call for such caucus." It was obviously impossible for Ferry or any one else to command 67 votes, and the caucus was called without this stipulation. Of 81 Republican members only 56 attended, although three others afterwards voted for Ferry. An informal vote in the caucus gave Ferry 46, with 10 votes divided among 8 candidates. The formal ballot gave Ferry 50 with 6 scattering.

The first vote taken in the Legislature gave Ferry 59, to 50 for Byron G. Stout, Democrat, and the others scattered among 15 different candidates. From this time on for several weeks it was everybody's race and nobody's race. Ferry never again reached as high as 59 votes, and after a month of persistent fighting by his friends his case was given up as hopeless. Until the day when a result was finally reached no other Republican had to exceed 33 votes, and only Thomas W. Palmer and Francis B. Stockbridge had this number. During the six weeks' contest pretty much every prominent Republican in the State, and some who were not very prominent, received votes. On the Democratic side no one except Mr. Stout, had at any time as many

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as 50 votes, although efforts were made, at different times, to concentrate upon George V. N. Lothrop, Wm. Newton, Henry Chamberlain, Orlando M. Barnes and Charles S. May.

On the 28th of February the State nominating Convention for the spring election was held at East Saginaw, and many of the members of the Legislature attended. They heard there loud and frequent expressions of dissatisfaction at the dallying over the senatorial election, and went back determined to make an end of it. An agreement was made that whenever any one received a majority of the Republican votes cast, enough others should change to him to give him the election. On the 81st vote in joint convention taken March 1st, there were 78 Republican votes announced. Of these Thomas W. Palmer had 40; Moreau S. Crosby, 20; Charles Upson, 8; Thomas W. Ferry, 6, and James B. Angell, Perry Hannah, Edwin Willets and Marsden C. Burch 1 each. Palmer's 40 constituted a majority of the 76 Republicans, and enough changes were immediately made to give him 75, and the election. The Democratic votes were 42 for Byron G. Stout, and one for John W. Champlin.

The election of Senator Palmer was satisfactory to Republicans generally, though a few of those who first started the fight against the caucus nominee disliked Palmer as much as they did Ferry. But the long contest left seeds of bitterness that bore friut for some time afterwards. The first fruit was plucked on the first Monday of April following, when the Democrats elected two Justices of the Supreme Court and two Regents of the University, the first time they had chosen any one to either of these positions since the Republican party was organized.

When Senator Conger's term expired in 1887 no objection was raised to the usual caucus method of making nominations, and the field was considered an open one into which anybody might enter. The first ballot gave one vote each for six different candidates, 2 for Edmund B. Fairfield, 3 for John K. Boies, 4 for Jay A. Hubbell, 7 for John C. Fitzgerald, 10 for Edward S. Lacey, 23 for Omar D. Conger, and 34 for Francis B. Stockbridge. Eight more ballots were taken, with Stockbridge in the lead, and a considerable scattering vote. A decision was reached on the tenth ballot, which gave Stockbridge 46, Conger 23, Lacey 16, Fitzgerald 2, Hubbell and Henry W. Seymour 1 each.

The Senatorial elections of 1899, 1895 and 1901 were in refreshing contrast to the quarrels that had preceded. James McMillan, whose extensive manufacturing and railroad enterprises had been a great accession to Michigan industry, had also been a liberal giver of money to the campaign fund and of time to campaign work. He was recognized as a capable and broad-minded man, eminently fitted to represent the vast business interests of the State in the Senate. At the Senatorial caucus in 1889 he was nominated by acclamation, no other name being mentioned. Six years later he recevied not only the unanimous vote in caucus, but also in the Legislature. The tidal wave of 1894 had left only one Democratic member in that body, and he voted with the Republicans for Mr. McMillan so as to be in good company. In 1901 Senator McMillan was again unanimously renominated by acclamation.

The Senatorial canvas in 1893 was a warm one in all its preliminary stages. Sen-

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ator Stockbridge was a candidate for re-election. The other avowed candidates were ex-Governor Cyrus G. Luce, ex-Congressman Jay A. Hubbell and Wm. Hartsuff, each of whom had a campaign committee at Lansing. Before this it had been customary to vote in caucus by secret ballot, and the Stockbridge men desired that this practice should be observed on this occasion. They were clearly outvoted on that point, and a viva voce vote was decided upon. When the caucus convened two new propositions were advanced, one that a majority vote of all those present should be required to nominate, and another that a majority vote of all the Republicans elected should be required. Both were voted down and a vote was taken which resulted in 1 each for John C. Fitzgerald, James O'Donnell and Byron M. Cutcheon, 2 each for Jonathan G. Ramsdell and Oliver L. Spaulding, 3 for Wm. Hartsuff, 10 for Jay A. Hubbell, 20 for Cyrus G. Luce and 46 for Senator Stockbridge. The nomination was then, as usual, made unanimous.

Senator Stockbridge died April 30, 1894, and Governor Rich appointed John Patton, Jr., of Grand Rapids, to the vacancy. When the Legislature of 1895 met Mr. Patton was a candidate for election to fill the vacancy, as were also Julius C. Burrows, of Kalamazoo, and Schuyler S. Olds, of Lansing. The matter was settled in two ballots, in each of which 131 votes were cast, with 66 necessary to a choice. They were as follows:

	1st.	2d.
Julius C. Burrows	64	70
Schuyler S. Olds	32	32
John Patton, Jr	23	25
Samuel M. Stephenson	7	..
Jay A. Hubbell	5	4

In the next two Senatorial elections there was no contest. In 1899 Mr. Burrows was nominated by acclamation. In the summer of 1902 Senator McMillan died suddenly at his summer home in Massachusetts, and at the Republican Convention for nominating a Justice of the Supreme Court General Russell A. Alger, of Detroit, was designated as the choice of the Republican party for the succession. He was appointed to the vacancy by Governor Bliss. When the Legislature of 1903 met he was nominated by acclamation to fill out the term, and was elected by the full Republican vote.

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CHAPTER VIII.

MICHIGAN SPRING ELECTIONS.

Organization of the Supreme Court in its Present Form—The Court During the Incumbency of the "Illustrious Four"—Its High Standing Among the Supreme Judicial Bodies of the Country—Decisions Made Against the Popular Clamor—The Board of Regents of the State University Made Elective—Time for Choosing Justices and Regents—A Number of Non-Partisan Spring Elections—The Fusion Attempt in 1879—First Success of the Opposition in 1883—Defeat of Judge Cooley in 1885—Opposition Success Repeated in 1891—Incidents of Other Judicial and Regency Elections.

The Spring elections, for the choice of Justices of the Supreme Court and Regents of the University, form an interesting part of Republican history in Michigan. The Supreme Court, as at present constituted, was a creation of the Republican party, though a high court, with varied and changing powers, had existed ever since the organization of the Territory in 1805. The Supreme Court, at that time, consisted of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, who exercises high judicial powers, and shared with the Governor legislative and judicial duties as well. This unique combination of powers was not conducive to harmony in administration, nor to a high respect for the court, as was instanced in the case of a citizen, who called the Chief Justice a d——d rascal, on account of one of his decisions, was promptly fined by that functionary for contempt of court, and had his fine remitted, with equal promptness, by the Governor.

In 1824 a separation was made between executive and judicial duties, and the Supreme Court was reorganized with one Chief Justice and three Associate Justices. They were appointed by the President, with the consent of the United States Senate, and their term of office was limited to four years. In 1832, after President Jackson had fairly inaugurated the spoils system, all the old justices, save one, being Whigs, were dropped, and Democrats were appointed in their places. It should be said, however, that throughout this whole period, although political affiliations were taken into account in the appointment of the judges, there was never any complaint of partisanship in their decisions, and the Court maintained a high rank among the Territorial courts of the country.

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The Constitution of 1835, under which Michigan was admitted to the Union as a State, continued the number of Justices as before, but gave their appointment to the Governor, with confirmation by the State Senate. The Constitution of 1850 provided that for the term of six years thereafter the five Circuit Judges, sitting together, should constitute the Supreme Court, four being required for a quorum, and the concurrence of three being necessary for a decision. It was not until 1857 that the Act was passed creating the Supreme Court under its present form, and with its present powers. The office was made elective, the number of justices four, and the term of office eight years. It was further provided that the Chief Justiceship should change every two years, the Justice whose term was soonest to expire assuming the dignities of that position.

At the first election the Judges chosen were George Martin, Randolph Manning, James V. Campbell and Isaac P. Christiancy. Judge Martin had been a Justice of the Supreme Court under the Constitution of 1835, and also one of the Circuit Judges who constituted the Supreme Court from 1851 to 1857 inclusive. Judge Campbell was then only 34 years of age, and objection was raised to him on account of his youth, but his subsequent career on the bench fully justified the wisdom of the choice. He was renominated and re-elected with very little opposition as long as he lived, a period of 33 years. His decisions appear in 70 consecutive volumes of Supreme Court reports. Judge Christiancy was then best known as an active politician and a skillful advocate, but the judicial quality of his mind speedily repressed these characteristics. Judge Manning died in 1864 and was succeeded by Thomas M. Cooley. George Martin gave place to Benjamin F. Graves on the first of January, 1868. There was no further change in the court till Justice Christiancy's retirement by resignation in 1879.

Judges Christiancy, Campbell and Graves were pronounced Republicans, and the first two participated in the events that led to the organization of the party. Judge Cooley was never active in politics, and party affiliations were held very lightly by him. It is matter of record that during the joint occupancy of the bench by these illustrious four the Michigan Supreme Court reports were in greater demand than those of any other State except New York.

The period covered by these six justices was the golden age of the Michigan Supreme Bench, a period in which it gained the highest reputation. The Justices were most industrious, writing out their decisions in full, without the aid of stenographer or typewriter. They were able, impartial and conscientious. In two notable cases their decisions ran counter to popular clamor which required the highest moral courage to resist. The first of these was in 1865, when the validity of the Soldiers' Voting Act was called in question. This Act passed February 5, 1864, and was intended to give Michigan soldiers in the field the right to vote, their votes to be certified by commissioners and counted in their respective places of residence. The Constitution provided that no elector should be deemed to have gained or lost the right to vote by reason of service in the army or navy of the United States, and every impulse of patriotism and justice dictated that the men who were serving in the army for the preservation of the Union and the State should not lose their right to be represented at the polls.

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Under the law the soldiers voted in the poll of 1864, and their votes were generally accepted and counted. But in Washtenaw county the board of canvassers threw out the soldiers' vote, thus giving the election for Prosecuting Attorney to Amos C. Blodgett, who had a majority on the home vote. A writ of quo warranto was brought by Daniel S. Twitchell, who, if the soldiers' vote was counted, would have had a majority. The case was argued at length, January 26, 1865, and decided two days later. The whole question of Constitutional construction was at issue, and the subject was of such great interest, and the distinctions made were so fine, that the four judges each gave a separate opinion. Judges Campbell, Christiancy and Cooley decided against the validity of the act, though reaching conclusions by somewhat different processes.

Chief Justice Martin held that the law was valid for reasons which he summed up as follows: "In this law which we are considering, we find the settled, determined and clearly expressed will of the people, and I cannot put my finger upon any word or clause of the Constitution from which I can conclude that they have surrendered such will over this subject, or parted with a single right respecting the regulation of the time or place in which a qualified elector may vote. We also find that the judiciary of every State, before which this question has been presented, has invariably conceded the supremacy of the Legislature over the subject, unless expressly restrained by the Constitution of the particular State within which the judgment was rendered, and that the whole question has been made to depend upon that of express constitutional prohibition or inevitable inference. And in all we find that the question is not free from doubt, and that, in some instances, considerations of policy and expediency, subjects with which the courts have no control, have been employed to support opinions which hold the law invalid. So long as this conflict of opinion as to legislative power exists, and I find myself unable to put my finger upon any express provisions of the Constitution which deprives the Legislature of the right to preserve the electoral privilege to our soldiers abroad from public and vital necessity. I cannot hold that the Legislature has exceeded its authority, nor allow to judicial doubts more potency than to legislative certainty."

Chief Justice Martin's contention was supported by a long argument. The other three judges gave a stricter construction to the Constitution. They held that the provision "that no citizen or inhabitant shall be an elector, or entitled to vote at any election, unless he has resided in the township or ward in which he offers to vote, ten days next preceding such election," was designed, and had the effect to require that each elector should, in person, cast his ballot in such township or ward. The Soldiers' Voting Act of February 5, 1864, was in conflict with this provision and was, therefore, void.

On his way to Court that morning Judge Campbell was met by a State Senator, who said to him, "Now, Judge, comes the tug-of-war." The Judge replied, "Yes, Senator, and I'm going to do what I believe to be right, and let the consequences take care of themselves." Justice Campbell, in closing his opinion, fairly voiced the sentiments of himself and his associates, when he said: "And I am, therefore, compelled to declare that, in my opinion, the act of the Legislature authorizing voting on

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a different basis is invalid. Public duty will not permit me, as a magistrate, to offer excuses for performing an unavoidable office. If our Constitution deprives of the privilege of voting a class of men to whom we are largely indebted for having the right preserved to ourselves, the only remedy is to invite the people to amend a restriction which has become too narrow for complete justice."

The decision affected a number of members of the Legislature, and many county officers, and great disappointment, indignation even, was expressed at its rendering. But the people soon accepted the inevitable; so far as the election of 1864 was concerned, and amended the Constitution so as to give soldiers the privilege of voting in the future.

In the railroad aid case tried at the April term in 1870 the Court again went against the public opinion of the times. There was then a great rage for the construction of new railroads in Michigan, and various acts were passed by the Legislature authorizing townships and cities to bond themselves to aid in the construction of such roads. Among others the township of Salem, Washtenaw county, voted aid to the Detroit & Howell company, but when the time came for issuing the bonds the authorities refused to make the issue. Application was made for a mandamus, and this brought the validity of the law in question. In long and able and separate opinions, Justices Campbell Christiancy and Cooley held the law unconstitutional, Justice Graves dissenting. The decision created a great deal of disappointment at the time, put a stop to a good many projected railroad enterprises, and caused some severe criticism of the judges. Their decision denied that the Constitution gave power to the State, or any of its municipalities, to levy taxes for such merely incidental benefits as might result from the building and operation of a railroad, or the prosecution of a private enterprise. Three years later the people began to realize that the decision was sound as a matter of public policy, without reference to Constitutional right; for if the rage for new railroads had been allowed to work itself out there would not only have been many bankrupt railroads, but numerous bankrupt municipalities. It was to the credit of the judges that they were uninfluenced by the popular clamor. It was to the credit of the people, as well, that they did not let their disappointment find expression at the polls. At the election in the Spring of 1871 Judge Campbell was re-elected by a majority of 18,529, and two years later Judge Christiancy was re-elected without opposition.

Up to 1852 Regents of the State University held their positions by appointment. Under the Constitution of 1850 they became elective by judicial districts. By an amendment adopted in 1862 they were made elective upon a general ticket, were given a term of office of eight years, two being chosen on the first Monday of April each alternate year.

The election of Justices of the Supreme Court and Regents of the University was placed in the Spring, so as to keep them free from the partisan politics which cut so much of a figure in the general State and National elections. This purpose was quite fully carried out for a score of years, for the Justices were elected without much reference to politics, in three cases the Democrats either making no nomination or en-

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dorsing the Republican nominees. Justices Campbell and Cooley were both honored in this way.

The first really lively Spring campaign was that of 1879, after the Greenback Party had begun to make things interesting in Michigan politics. Although the Republicans had elected their State ticket by handsome pluralities in November preceding, they were far short of a majority. A combination of the Greenbackers, or the Nationals, as they called themselves at this time, and the Democrats, would, it was thought, carry the State. Conventions of the two parties were called for the same day at Lansing. After very stormy sessions they resulted in the nomination of a joint ticket, and the acceptance of the National platform, though at the expense of a bolt of formidable proportions from the Democratic Convention. The nominee for Supreme Court Justice was John B. Shipman, a Democrat with Greenback leanings. Those for Regent of the University were George P. Sanford and Henry Whiting, both old Greenbackers. A ticket constituted as this was could not possibly carry the full strength of either party, and the campaign which commenced in boasting naturally ended in defeat. The Republicans renominated Justice Campbell, and named E. O. Grosvenor and James Shearer for Regents. In the election the former had 6,143 majority, and the Regents 5,381 and 5,563 respectively.

The Fusion defeat of 1879 broke up for the time the combination between the Democrats and Nationals, and the spring campaign of 1881 was an easy one. The Republicans nominated a ticket properly characterized as "superb." It consisted of Isaac Marston for Justice of the Supreme Court, and James F. Joy and Austin Blair for Regents. Justice Marston, a young man of exceptionally brilliant parts, had succeeded to the Supreme Bench upon the resignation of Justice Christiancy in 1875, and was a candidtae for re-election. The Democrats nominated Augustus C. Baldwin for Supreme Court Justice, and G. V. N. Lothrop and Henry Fralick for Regents. This ticket polled something over two-thirds of the Opposition vote, though the Greenbackers had a ticket in the field, consisting of John B. Shipman for Justice, and David Parsons and Charles J. Willett for Regents. The Prohibitionists also nominated a ticket, headed by Charles G. Hyde for Supreme Court Justice. In the election Justice Campbell had a plurality of 54,706 and a clear majority over all of 8,676. Mr. Joy had a plurality of 54,214, and Austin Blair one of 52,419.

The Spring election of 1883 put a very different face upon affairs. The loss of the Governorship at the fall election of 1882, and the acrimonious contest over the United States Senatorship in the Legislative session of 1883, had left the Republicans in a very poor condition to conduct a spirited campaign, while the Opposition were more thoroughly united than ever before. There were two Supreme Court Justices to be elected, one in place of Benjamin F. Graves, who declined a renomination, and the other in place of Isaac Marston, resigned. The Republicans nominated Austin Blair for the full term and Thomas J. O'Brien for the vacancy, with Harry B. Hutchins and Joseph C. Jones for Regents. The Combination nominated John W. Champlin for the long term and Thomas R. Sherwood for the vacancy, with Arthur M. Clark and Charles J. Willett for Regents. Of the four three were original Greenbackers

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and one a Democrat, but the latter party this time brought out a reasonably full vote, and the whole Fusion ticket was elected, by pluralities ranging from 2,309 for Sherwood to 7,506 for Champlin.

The Spring of 1885 witnessed another disastrous campaign for the Republicans. It was a time of some political discontent, and of agitation against corporations, and Judge Cooley, who was renominated, was savagely attacked under the charge that his decisions had been uniformly friendly to corporate interests. Allen B. Morse, a popular Democrat and a one-armed veteran of the Union army, was nominated against him on a Fusion ticket, and was elected by a vote of 168,625 to 138,694, a plurality close to 30,000. The Fusion candidates for Regent, Charles R. Whitman and Moses W. Field, were elected over Charles S. Draper and Aaron V. McAlvay by pluralities of 17,390 and 16,111. The Prohibitionists gave between 14,000 and 15,000 votes to their candidates for Regent, but made no nomination for Supreme Court Justice, their votes on that office going mainly to Morse.

The Legislature of 1887 increased the number of Judges to five, and their term of office to ten years. In the Spring of that year Justice James V. Campbell was re-elected for eight years by a plurality of 30,809, and Charles D. Long was elected to the new ten-year term by a plurality of 34,609. Roger W. Butterfield and Charles Hebard were elected Regents by pluralities of 30,250 and 30,506 respectively. The Greenbackers, in this election, had separate candidates, for whom they polled from 27,601 to 32,396 votes, and the Prohibitionists gave their candidates votes ranging from 18,530 to 18,773. The Republicans, though having such comfortable pluralities, were again far short of a majority.

In the Spring of 1889 the Republicans had a plurality of 33,471, and a clear majority of 14,410 for Claudius B. Grant, their candidate for Supreme Court Justice, but in 1891 they were once more, and for the last time, defeated. Their complete rout in the fall election of 1890, when they lost the whole State ticket, left them in bad shape for the spring campaign. Judge Campbell died March 26, 1890, and Edward Cahill, of Lansing, was appointed to fill the vacancy until the next election. Judge Cahill was nominated for the rest of the term in the fall of 1890, but was defeated by John W. McGrath, of Detroit, by a plurality of 4,644. At the spring election of 1891 Robert M. Montgomery was elected over John W. Champlin, by a plurality of 4,940.

Justice McGrath was the last opposition candidate elected to the Supreme Bench, though in 1892 George H. Durand of Flint occupied the Bench for a few months by appointment to fill a vacancy. Since then the State has been Republican on everything by undisputed and very large majorities. In the spring of 1903 the pluralities on Regents of the University were 90,333 and 90,865, respectively, and on Justice of the Supreme Court 88,243. Justice Charles D. Long died June 27, 1902, and Wm. A. Carpenter of Detroit was, in November following, elected to fill out the term. The Legislature of 1903 increased the number of Judges to eight, but the three additional judges have not yet been appointed or elected. Following is a list of the Supreme Court Justices, with their terms of service, from 1858 to the present time:

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George Martin	1858-1867
Randolph Manning	1858-1864
James V. Campbell	1858-1890
Isaac P. Christiancy	1858-1875
Thomas M. Cooley	1864-1885
Benjamin F. Graves	1868-1883
Isaac Marston	1875-1883
Thomas R. Sherwood	1884-1889
John W. Champlin	1884-1891
Allen B. Morse	1885-1892
Charles D. Long	1888-1902
Edward Cahill	1890-1890
Claudius B. Grant	1890-1909
John W. McGrath	1891-1895
George H. Durand	1892-1892
Robert M. Montgomery	1892-1911
Frank A. Hooker	1894-1913
Joseph B. Moore	1896-1905
Wm. L. Carpenter	1902-1907

The Regents of the University have numbered, since they became elective on a general ticket, about 50. The present members are as follows: Roger W. Butterfield, Grand Rapids; George A. Farr, Grand Haven; Arthur Hill, Saginaw; Charles D. Lawton, Lawton; Henry S. Dean, Ann Arbor; Levi L. Barbour, Detroit; Frank W. Fletcher, Alpena; Henry W. Carey, East Lake.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.

Immense Crowds Gather at Jackson—Address of Chairman James O'Donnell—Welcome by Mayor Todd—Response by Governor Bliss—Addresses by Hon. Charles A. Blair and Thomas J. O'Brien, Esq.—Reminiscences of the Formation of the Party and Incidents of Its History—Remarks of Senator Burrows—Address by Secretary of State John Hay—Remarks of Senator Charles W. Fairbanks—Speech by Speaker Joseph G. Cannon—Remarks by Senator Alger and Hon. Fred M. Warner.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party was celebrated in Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1904, in accordance with the following program:

ORDER OF THE EXERCISES.

In the Morning.

AT SUNRISE: A sunrise gun.

FROM 9 TO 10 O'CLOCK: A band concert on the plaza near the Otsego Hotel.

AT 10 O'CLOCK: The morning exercises at Loomis Park, the HONORABLE JAMES O'DONNELL, President of the Celebration Association, presiding.

Invocation by the RIGHT REVEREND GEORGE D. GILLESPIE, D. D., Bishop of Western Michigan.

Address of Welcome by the HONORABLE WILLIAM H. TODD, Mayor of the City of Jackson.

Response by the HONORABLE AARON T. BLISS, Governor of Michigan.

Addresses on the History of the Republican Party in Michigan, by the HONORABLE CHARLES A. BLAIR, of Jackson, and by THOMAS J. O'BRIEN, ESQ., of Grand Rapids.

FROM 12 NOON TO 1 P. M.: A reception in honor of the speakers and the guests of the Association; the HONORABLE CHARLES E. TOWNSEND, member of the Congress from the Second Congressional District of Michigan, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

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In the Afternoon.

AT 2 O'CLOCK: The afternoon exercises at Loomis Park, the HONORABLE JULIUS C. BURROWS, United States Senator from Michigan, presiding.

An address by the HONORABLE JOHN HAY, Secretary of State.

An address by the HONORABLE CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS, United States Senator from Indiana, and the candidate of the Republican Party for Vice-President.

Remarks by the HONORABLE JOSEPH G. CANNON, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Remarks by the HONORABLE RUSSELL A. ALGER, United States Senator from Michigan.

In the Evening.

A display of Fireworks at the Fair Grounds.

The day proved propitious, and an assemblage much larger than could possibly hear speaking in the open air gathered under the young oaks of Loomis Park, the site of the original convention now being occupied by dwellings. Men who had voted for Fremont and Dayton, to the number of nearly one thousand, occupied seats directly in front of the speakers' stand; and many of the more elderly found places on the stand itself. There were no interruptions or delays; and in addition to the programme as arranged brief remarks were made by the Hon. Alfred Russell, of Detroit, a member of the original convention; and by Hon. Fred M. Warner, Secretary of State of Michigan and the Republican candidate for Governor.

At the opening of the morning session Chairman James O'Donnell said: "I take pleasure in calling this gathering to order with this gavel, made from one of the Oaks and presented by Hon. J. C. Richardson. Prayer will be offered by the Right Reverend George D. Gillespie, Bishop of Western Michigan."

BISHOP GILLESPIE—O Almighty God, Thine is the kingdom and Thou art the Governor among the nations. We revere Thy majesty, we rejoice in Thy Providence. In all our past history Thou hast been the guardian of our country and the protector of its institutions.

Especially at this time, we bless Thy Holy Name, for the events in our National career we this day commemorate. In a "day of darkness and gloominess," when human slavery threatened our dear country as the land of the free; this spot, beneath the trees that stand as witnesses, was made sacred by the pledge of resistance to its extension, the loosening of its shackels.

We give thanks, our Heavenly Father, for the wisdom and courage that were in that hour, and the victory that was secured. Gratefully we recall the honorable men who in the strength of intellect, the determination of will, the force of their personality, and the winning of their eloquence, perfected the action, and whose works now that they rest from their labors do follow them.

We thank Thee that after the sword was unsheathed, and there was a resistance unto blood we can to-day rejoice in the land at unity in itself, and we "lead a quiet and peaceable life."

And now that the dark clouds are lifted, we pray that the remembrance of the

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A GROUP OF FREMONT VOTERS AT JACKSON

DURING THEIR STATE CONVENTION, MAY 18, 1904

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sad conflict may secure for future generations unity, peace, and concord. Endue with wisdom and understanding all that are in authority over us. From all sedition privy conspiracy, insubordination and rebellion, good Lord, deliver us. We implore thy blessing on the President and Cabinet, and all Governors, judges, legislators and officers, especially those of our own State, that they may have grace and knowledge, faithfully and effectually to discharge their respective duties, to thy honor and glory, to the integrity of our civil institutions and the true welfare of this State and Nation. We commend to thy providence the army and navy that they may be a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions, and the dwellers on our borders, and a safeguard unto the United States of America.

Let thy blessing descend upon all our institutions for the promotion of sound learning, virtuous education and Christian truth. Guard our citizens in every calling from its dangers, and make them true to its honor and purpose.

Increase the number of those who publish the gospel of peace, and make the labors of all the pastors of thy flock promotive of the peace, purity and enlargement of thy kingdom upon earth. Deliver us from unbelief and impiety, heresy and schism. Silence the voice of the blasphemer, and turn away the hand of the malevolent and injurious.

Shed the quickening influences of thy Holy Spirit upon us all. Suffer us not to abuse the blessings of prosperity to luxury and licentiousness, to irreligion and vice. Make us to remember thy day to keep it holy; thy sanctuary to give it reverence. May we be a nation fearing God and working righteousness.

To thy unmerited goodness, blessed Lord, we ascribe all our national and social blessings. On thy grace and merits, adorable Redeemer, we rely for pardon and salvation. To thy sanctifying influences, O Holy Ghost, we commend our hearts and minds. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Address of Chairman O'Donnell.

FREMONT VOTERS, MEN AND WOMEN OF MICHIGAN:

Just half a century ago today there assembled in Jackson a mass convention of earnest, thinking men, who believed in the doctrine that this nation was dedicated to freedom. This gathering met pursuant to a call signed by ten thousand of the citizens of Michigan. July 6, 1854, fifty years ago, this assembly of lovers of justice and liberty met in the village of Jackson, under the oaks. By the march of improvement the oaks have nearly all fallen, and in their place stand many homes. That meeting revolutionized the politics of the state and nation. It is fitting that this great historical event be celebrated, for here was organized the Republican party, the political organization that prevailed in Michigan at the ballot box 120 days after, when it won its first victory. The movement spread throughout the nation, and twenty-eight months after, its adherents polled 1,341,246 votes in eleven states, securing a representation of 114 in the electoral college. It very nearly won the election for Fremont and Dayton. This defeat did not dishearten its members, and they organized for coming contests. In fact, the people were very wide awake, and four years after the cause prevailed, and Abraham Lincoln was chosen president—Lincoln, the great, whose labors placed his name on the lips of gratitude throughout the land. He lived for his country, and in the hour of its victory died for the nation and humanity. In death he has the homage of history

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and the gratitude of the American people—yes, of the world. "He belongs to the ages."

You patriots of fifty years ago who labored and voted for Fremont were the pathfinders—the men who blazed the way to the glorious triumph in 1860. You pointed freedom to the kindly gaze of a hopeless race.

The administration of Lincoln was confronted by a terrible civil war, which lasted for four weary years, and brought sorrow to nearly every home. But the contest ended for the right. Peace prevails throughout our borders; every patriotic heart rejoices that the memories of the war are obliterated. Peace reaps where war hath sown; in the flaming forges of war the iron bands of national union have been welded. War and peace—the skeleton of the past and the genius of the present. But, forty-four years after, we see that the war was inevitable; it was a vast historical convulsion; the culmination of a national drama, when one of the great movements of the world gathered and spent its mighty force. The quarrel was in its nature irreconcilable and eternal as the warfare between right and wrong. This reminds us of the mournful fact that in all history every advance toward human rights and liberty has been won by the sword. The North was in the right; the right triumphed. This kindled the patriotic fires. But now the fearful struggle is but a memory. The great commander, from victory's summit, proclaimed the grand sentiment, "Let us have peace," and peace blesses our land. The sons of the North and South will stand together in defense of our institutions should they be assailed by any foe. Time with its healing influences, a realization of the conditions then existing, and a better knowledge of each other by the people of the two sections, closed the last furrow of war, and now we are a united people, never to be apart again, thank God. Today that struggle which shook the world is viewed through the mellowing atmosphere of time. But we yet recall the days when brave men met and gave shot for shot, and death for death, and illustrated in crimson colors the grandeur, even sublimity, of American valor.

In the twelve presidential campaigns since 1854, nine of them were won by the Republican party, and today its doctrines are stronger in the minds of men than ever before. The half century has been momentous for the republic and its people, and has witnessed marvelous progress; now the United States stands first among nations. The intelligent application of the beneficent principles of the Republican party has placed our nation among the great powers of the world. That party has given the country many of its wisest and greatest statesmen, whose thoughts have been woven into the fabric of history. The names of these splendid children of genius are our precious possessions; their names and fame are like eternal epitaphs engraved by the admiration of men on the road of time. Today the republic is the marvel of the universe.

National growth, progress and development have marked Republican control. Much of the wealth and power of the nation can be credited to the policies of the party whose semi-centennial we here celebrate. Reviewing the past, this certainly is the day of jubilee. We have incorporated the grand doctrines of the party, "Free men, free speech," into law. The generation today is grateful to you men who organized this party, for surely "The name of the Republican party stands over every door where a righteous cause was born." Others will tell you of its history, its achievements, and forecast its future.

A nation is not formed in a day, and nation-making is one of the slowest of processes. It has been well said the Constitution the fathers gave us is the fruit of forty centuries of evolution. Man's life is short, but the life of a nation is long.

Expansion and advancement have signalized Republican administration. The

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country has expanded greatly in the half century gone. We acquired Alaska, with its 577,390 square miles; Hawaii, with 6,470 square miles; the Philippines, with 116,300 square miles; Porto Rico, with 3,600 square miles; a station in Samoa of 79 square miles, and the Panama canal zone of 10 miles, making 704,119 square miles of new territory. American possessions now extend more than half way around the world; our flag follows the sun from its rising on the Atlantic to its setting on the islands clear across the Pacific. We are now, indeed, a great nation, with a territory of 3,285,115 square miles, with nearly eighty million inhabitants. We pushed out into the Pacific, and into the Caribbean Sea. Expansion has made us a mighty power. We will hold what we have gained and reap the harvest of the crop we have planted. We will carry out that manifest destiny which is the birthright of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Our flag waves in the Pacific. One of our greatest statesmen—Blaine—with rare prescience, thirty-five years ago declared that in the years to come this republic, if it maintained its trade with the world, must acquire the Philippines, "as they are the key to the Orient." We have acquired the archipelago, and are there to stay. Our task is now to fit its people for citizenship, and we will succeed. We will hold aloft the torch of civilization where midnight has reigned for centuries. In the near future this new possession will be to the additional glory of the United States. It is our duty to reinforce that line which constitutes the outpost of civilization around the world. We will prove equal to the new duties circumstances have forced upon us.

The constructive and wise legislation of the Republican party has brought growth, progress and happiness to all our inhabitants. This is a tribute to its potent influence for prosperity.

New events, new history, push back the past. Turn we for a moment to the present and its material development. As heretofore remarked, we have added Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines to the national domain. We gained Cuba with blood and treasure, but by a monumental blunder in statesmanship did not retain what we won at such cost. The record of the Republican party furnishes inspiring chapters in American history. It has courageously solved all problems intelligently and in the line of progress. Its legislation protected American industry and has made us one of the greatest manufacturing nations in the world—protection with its corollary of prosperity. It opened the empire to the westward to the settler, giving land to the landless, and is reclaiming the arid regions in the west. It has given us the best monetary system ever devised; it has sought and succeeded in the endeavor to aid that basis of all prosperity, agriculture, with its millions of farms. It has been aggressive for the rights of the public in regulating those vast organizations, trusts, which, unrestrained, are a menace to the rights of the people. These fifty years have been creative, and the achievements in all fields are marked on the dial of progress. In that period our population has nearly trebled and our wealth more than quadrupled. All these are stars in the party's crown.

In this year a new republic has been created, Panama. For hundreds of years the statesmen of all lands have thought of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The strenuous statesman of America, Theodore Roosevelt, that splendid executive and grand citizen and patriot, also thought of the waterway—and acted; now the United States is to have this canal, "the key to the universe." In the near future the oceans which wash the coasts of America will be joined, and our country will be mistress of the seas. We will stand between the two great oceans, and the United States will be the clearing house of the commerce of all nations; we will be

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the world's market place. The canal will benefit us, will be of advantage to all peoples.

The era of the nation's advancement will continue, and industrial, agricultural and commercial progress will bless our citizens. We seek the conquests of peace, will win new markets and maintain our proud place as the foremost government on the globe.

The Republican party, the fiftieth birthday of which we celebrate today, by its policies in the past half century has benefited the nation and humanity. This is its claim for further approval at the hands of the electorate. It will be given another lustrum of control.

Today we would call the roll of names who organized this party, but the only answer would be from the silent depths of memory: Jacob M. Howard, who wrote the first platform; Zachariah Chandler, the great war senator; Kinsley S. Bingham, first Republican governor; Austin Blair, the great war governor, who met all requirements in trying times. Michigan will never cease to be proud of the man who was at the helm of her ship of state with such a strong and honest hand during the stormy days from 1861 to 1865. The years give a new measure of his ability and character. Strength, purity and patriotism were ever apparent. He was rich when he became the executive of our commonwealth; but during those years, when so many were successful in accumulating, he became poor in purse but opulent in fame and great work. The name, fame and services of Austin Blair are among the state's grandest possessions. Here he lived; here his useful life was passed, and here, just south of the oaks, his ashes repose. Then we think of Walbridge, William A. Howard, Beaman, Trowbridge, Waldron, Leach, Croswell and many others. In Jackson county there were Judge Joseph E. Beebe, Amos Root, Dr. M. A. McNaughton, John M. Root, Judge Melville McGee, Goodwin, Crego, Hurd, Thomas McGee, Reynolds, DeLand, P. B. Loomis, Brown, Jackson, Judge Howell, Norman Allen, S. B. Treadwell, Pilcher, Kirtland, and so many who served the state as legislators or as good citizens. Nearly all are gone —passed to the solemn shades, the silent continents of eternity. But their work lives. At that convention the people ruled, and there was no need for primary reform to give expression to the actual wishes of the Republicans of Michigan.

As chairman of the committee entrusted with the arrangements for celebrating the semi-centennial, I desire to thank everyone for aid rendered. The gentlemen of the various committees served faithfully and well. To the members of other parties acknowledgment is made of their assistance. We thank them, and, fellow citizens of all parties, when the political contest of 1904 is ended, let us forget partisan differences, remembering that we are greater than all political affiliations, wearing the proud name of American citizens, devoted to our union of states, realizing the blessings of free government, progress, genuine advancement, the builders of the great republic, which is the hope of the world and beacon of humanity.

We march beneath the banner of the stars—every star glistening with hope for mankind. We stand in the splendor of the years of progress and prosperity, and will consecrate our country to even greater usefulness and glory.

Welcome by Mayor Todd.

CHAIRMAN O'DONNELL—I have the pleasure now of introducing Mayor Todd, of Jackson. He has taken a great interest in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Republican party, and we are very grateful to him. Fellow

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citizens, the mayor of Jackson, the Hon. W. W. Todd, who will welcome you on behalf of the city.

Mayor Todd responded as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT—I feel that I have been honored beyond measure by being selected to welcome this large, representative gathering, comprising citizens from nearly every state in the Union, who have come together here to commemorate the birth of the Republican party.

Jackson has reason to feel proud that in this city, fifty years ago, a great national party was formed which, with the exception of eight years of Cleveland's administrations, has been in control of our national government ever since. Under the administration of the Republican party the colored race has been released from bondage, and our domain has increased in wealth and population until today we are one of the first and most powerful nations on the face of the globe.

You men who helped organize this great party fifty years ago can point back with pride to what has been accomplished since that time. Most of you who have honored us by your presence here today have been through many stirring times, but thanks to you we are today a united nation, so powerful that no country dare insult our flag.

I consider it not only an honor but a privilege to welcome to our city a gathering of this kind, as such a celebration has never been held before. I see before me many men of three score and ten years, mostly Fremont voters, and I compliment you on your courage, for I am told that in 1854 it required a vast amount of courage to declare oneself a Fremont man; but from your pluck, courage and honesty has sprung the great Republican party. As the American revolution brought out men whose names have gone down into history, so did the Republican party bring out men whose names will be remembered so long as this Christian nation stands; the names of Lincoln, Seward and Grant will never be forgotten. I should not feel that I had done justice to the occasion did I not mention our former townsman, Governor Austin Blair, who was not only prominent in the organization of the party, but who gained a national reputation as Michigan's war governor. He was one of the principal speakers at the time the party was formed here in our city, and it was due to his untiring efforts that the ninety thousand men that Michigan sent to the war were better drilled and equipped than those sent from any other state in the Union.

I understand that a fund is being raised to be used for a memorial for those who formed this party fifty years ago, and I hope that the committee having the matter in charge will meet with such success that a fitting tablet or monument may be erected to commemorate the men and their work: and it would seem fitting that each year the sixth of July be set apart as a day to be observed with exercises appropriate for the occasion.

"Under the oaks" is an expression heard continually in our homes and on our streets this year. Let us see that its significance is not forgotten in the years that are to come.

Although there are two great political parties in our country today, each with its own platform, we have one common interest for which we strive, namely, the good of our nation; and in working toward that end, all party lines cast aside, we are banded together into one great party, not Republican, not Democratic, but loyal, earnest men, worthy to be called citizens of such a country as ours.

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Response by Governor Bliss.

THE PRESIDENT—The response to this excellent address of welcome will be made by the Hon. Aaron T. Bliss, Governor of the State of Michigan.

Governor Bliss's response was as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT, REPUBLICANS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:—In behalf of all those to whom these kind words of welcome apply, let me say that the hospitality of the city of Jackson is most sincerely appreciated. The patriots of fifty years ago builded here a shrine to which we all gladly repair on this auspicious anniversary day, and here renew our vows of fidelity to the great movement in which they were pioneers, and which they bequeathed to our keeping.

It is the pride and the glory of Michigan that two score and ten years ago this day the flaming star of freedom pointed the way to the oaks of Jackson.

The nation was in peril, the gravest since its history began. A mighty people were being aroused by the encroachments of the slave power of the South. In the fullness of time the hour struck for the realignment of the parties that had ended their usefulness, and the divine call came to the fathers of this state, many of whom are in the assembly today, their heads white with the snows of passing winters.

Standing upon this historic ground, on the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party, one is sobered as he contemplates the history which has been written as a consequence of that famous day "under the oaks," when the men of Michigan, foreswearing their former partisan allegiances, boldly challenged the enemy who threatened freedom and national unity, resolving to be known as Republicans until the contest was ended. They were serious-minded men, patriots who placed principle above self, and no sacrifice could be demanded of them they were unwilling to make for the common good. United with the like minded men of other states, they placed Lincoln in the presidential chair, freed the negro, saved the Union, and as new duties came faced them and solved the problems. The organization so founded is as virile today as in the days of Fremont, Lincoln and Blair, and is dicharging its responsibilities as fearlessly and as faithfully now as then.

Although we are met to observe the golden anniversary of the Republican party, it is something more than a mere partisan occasion. There is a wider, larger sentiment, as properly befits the history of a party that has had in charge the national government almost continuously since 1861. As Republicans and as good citizens we take honest pride in this great organization of men that from Lincoln to Roosevelt has not faltered in its duty to the nation, that in good and in evil times has rallied to the flag, undismayed by dangers, and has "kept step to the music of the Union."

Called into being to save the nation, born of irrepressible opposition to human slavery and of determination that the Union should not be disrupted, the Republican party has so conducted the affairs of government that under God the United States of America today occupies the most enviable, the proudest place among the nations of the round globe. As partisans and as citizens we may well hope that this organization will be as true to duty, as faithful to the government, in the future as in the days gone by, and if that is done, as yesterday pledges tomorrow it will be, then will the party be above partisanship and the general good be advanced.

It has been said that as many places claim to be the birthplace of the Republican party as contended for the honor of having cradled the Grecian bard. The

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clear-cut lines of Francis Curtis, the historian of the republican party, may well be quoted here:

"On the sixth day of July, 1854, the Republican party was born 'under the oaks' at Jackson, Michigan. This was not, however, the first gathering of Republicans nor the first time the name of the new party had been used. As when the seed is sown and the blades of grass spring up almost simultaneously, now here, now there, in different parts of the field, so in the spring and summer of 1854 from the seeds of abolition and anti-slavery extension sprang the Republican party in Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Maine, Massachusetts, Iowa, Ohio and other northern states. But because of the fact that, in formal convention assembled, a platform was adopted and a full state ticket nominated on the sixth day of July, 1854, at Jackson, Michigan, that day and place must be conceded to be the birthday and birthplace of the Republican party."

The iron was at white heat not alone on the Jackson anvil, and there is glory enough to go around. It is enough to know that in this good old city of Jackson the first state organization was made and a resistless march to victory begun. From the day of Kinsley S. Bingham, with but two exceptions, Michigan has uniformly returned Republican majorities. Under Republican rule the state has written honorable, glorious pages in the national history, and has advanced to a leading position in the union. I will not weary you with a recapitulation of the state's resources, nor with a list of its great men and their services. Suffice it to say that Michigan has contributed bountifully to the best thought of the nation, and since an educated people are the strongest resource of any country, forming the foundation on which national greatness is built and maintained, Michigan's greatest gift to the nation and crowning glory is its educational system.

It is a great pleasure, on this home-coming day, in behalf of the state, to welcome to this historic city the distinguished men within its gates and extend to them the hospitable greetings of two and a half millions of happy, contented and prosperous people. To the veteran who has fought the fight, Michigan offers the laurel, and to the youth who ventures this year on his first campaign, a Godspeed. May fifty years hence find him as true as the fathers we have with us today. I thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: FELLOW CITIZENS—I have here a letter from Mrs. Mary B. Clay, of Richmond, Ky. She was the daughter of Gen. Cassius M. Clay, who was one of the original Republicans, and took his life in his hand when in Kentucky and throughout the south he preached Republican doctrine. The letter is very long, so I will not read it to you, but it is a sketch of her illustrious father.

I also have a letter from Z. B. Knight, of Kirkwood, Mo., who was a member of the committee on resolutions with Jacob M. Howard fifty years ago today, and he says that in the committee the matter of the name of the party was discussed at considerable length, and several names were proposed, among them "Republican." If he was the one who proposed that name, I think we ought to send greetings back to Mr. Knight away off in Kirkwood Mo. It was Z. B. Knight, but he struck the daylight when he gave the name of "Republican" party to this organization.

I have spoken to you of the great work of Governor Austin Blair. Today, upon the programme, is his son, the Hon. Charles A. Blair, the Attorney-General of Michigan, who has stood so grandly for the rights of the people and of the state; it is fitting that

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he should speak today upon the history of the Republican party in the State of Michigan. And now I have great pleasure in introducing your Attorney-General, Charles A. Blair.

Address of Hon. Charles A. Blair.

MR. PRESIDENT, GRAND OLD GUARD OF '56, FELLOW-CITIZENS—The nation has its festal days set apart to commemorate the great events of its history. It seems also appropriate that the great Republican party, whose achievements have changed the course of history, should set apart some day for the celebration of its origin.

Meeting here today amid the stately forest trees which sheltered the founders of our party a half century ago as they went about their great work; recalling with pardonable pride their grand achievements; looking to the future with serene and confident hope, the Republicans of Michigan acknowledge their gratitude to an all-wise Providence that on our soil this great historic party had its birth and began its eventful career.

Michigan has been subject successively to the rule of France, Great Britain and the United States. Prior to becoming a separate territory, it was part of the Northwest Territory, and, as such, subject to the famous ordinance of 1787, of which our most eminent jurist has said: "No charter has so completely withstood the tests of time and experience; it had not a temporary adaptation to a particular emergency, but its principles were for all time and worthy of acceptance under all circumstances."

The first article of the ordinance provided for freedom of religious worship. The second was a bill of rights. The third provided that: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The sixth article provided that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crime.

Thus Michigan, at the outset, was dedicated to education, freedom and equality of rights, and throughout her career she has adhered to those principles of government. In 1805 Michigan became a separate territory with a meager population of some three or four thousand souls. Almost the whole of her domain was a primeval wilderness inhabited by wild beasts and savage tribes. Slowly her hardy pioneers invaded and conquered the wilderness, learning the while the worth and dignity of labor. Steadily, and in constantly increasing numbers, their ranks were increased by the vigorous youth of New England and New York until in 1837, with a population of nearly 200 000, she was admited into the union as the twenty-sixth in the great sisterhood of states. Compelled by their suroundings to care for themselves, inured to lives of hardship and toil, her citizens were sturdy people possessing those traits of energy, self-reliance, resourcefulness and pluck which have been marked characteristics of the American pioneers. The experience of half a century had convinced them of the wisdom of the fundamental principles of government declared by the ordinance of 1787, and upon them they constructed the constitution for the new state. Profoundly impressed with the view so happily expressed in the third article of the Ordinance, they laid the foundation of the state's educational system broad and deep. No state in the union has made ampler or wiser provision for the proper education of its people than Michigan, and the results of that system have been well shown in the intelligent, law-abiding and liberty-loving character of her citizens.

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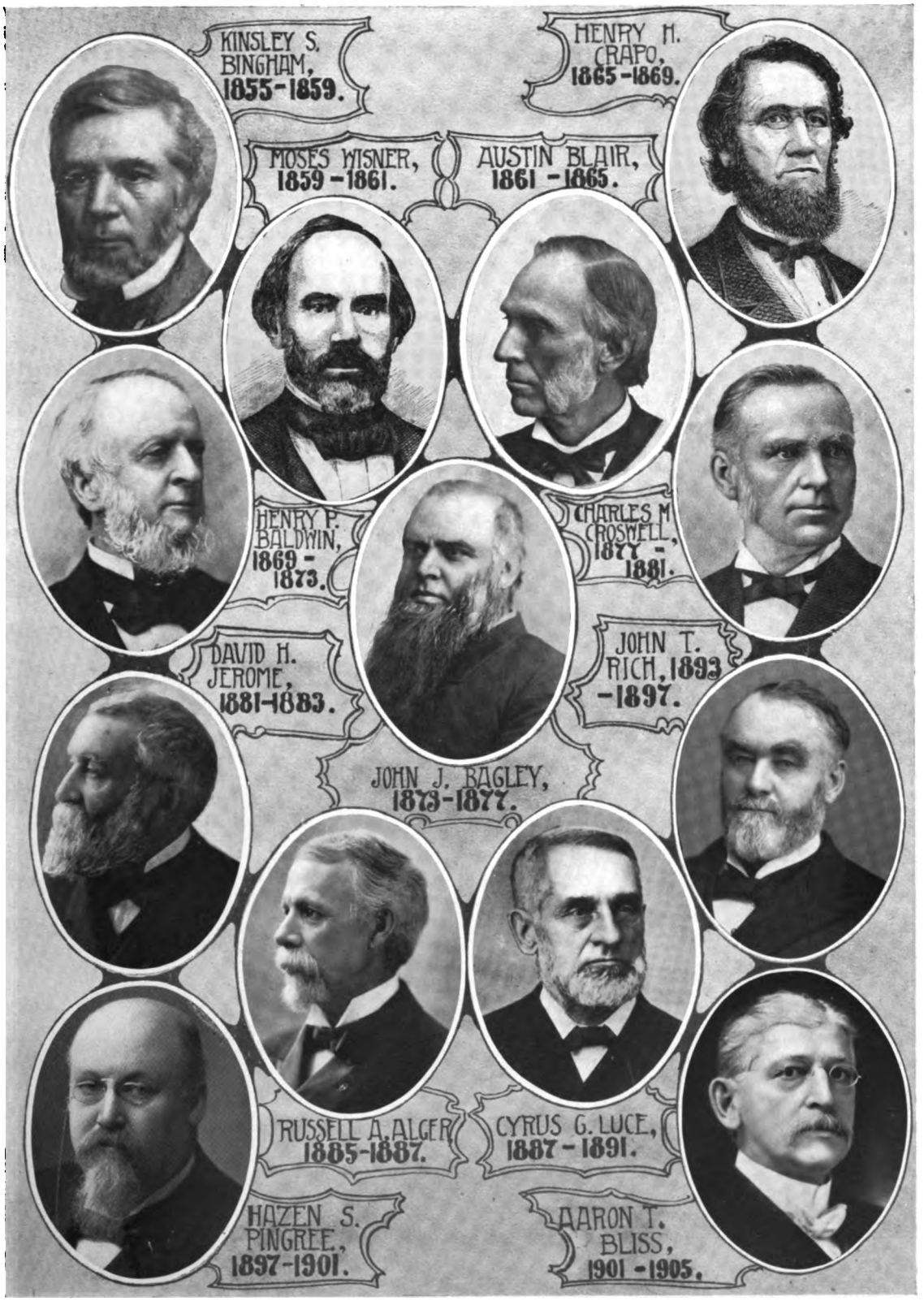

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS OF MICHIGAN, 1855 TO 1904

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It was natural that such a people should be possessed of a deep aversion to the institution of slavery and should manifest a determined opposition to its introduction into free territory. Their first great charter of government had absolutely prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory. Their own experience had taught them to regard labor as honorable and necessary to a self-respecting independence and had inspired them with a passionate regard for freedom. They suposed that the Missouri Compromise had finally determined that the northern territorial boundary of slavery should be 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude. They had accepted the compromise of 1850 and again believed that the agitation for slavery was at an end. But the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise bitterly undeceived them and fully convinced them that the irrepressible conflict was on. They felt that they had come to the parting of the ways. Any further compromise was out of the question. The advocates of slavery had shown their hands and made their purpose clear. The time had finally come when it must be determined whether the North should be slave or free. There could be no doubt in the minds of those who knew her history where Michigan would stand when confronted with such a situation. Murmurs of indignation arose in every section of the state, which swelled into a grand chorus of denunciation and resulted in a settled determination to prevent the further spread of slavery.

It was universally felt that no political organization then in existence could properly represent the sentiments of the people of Michigan or formulate the principles for which they wished to stand. The hour had struck; the time was at hand for the formation of a new party to which might be committed the interests of humanity the world around. And no people could have been found between the two oceans better qualified by training, experience and environment than the people of Michigan to stand as sponsors for the new party.

A call was issued for a mass convention, without regard to previous political affiliations, to meet at Jackson on the sixth day of July, 1854. This call was signed by a great multitude of our citizens, and bore the names of many who became eminent in the history of the state and nation. The halls of the city were found to be inadequate to the housing of the great throng who attended the convention, and an adjournment was had to a grove of noble oaks, a worthy temple for the consecration of the party of liberty. There, under the blue sky, canopied by the foliage of majestic forest trees, fanned by the free breezes of heaven, the Republican party was formed and consecrated to its great mission. Its formation was one of the great epoch-making events of history. Like the battle of Tours, which rolled back the tidal wave of Saracen invasion and saved European civilization from destruction, the formation of the Republican party arrested the rising tide of slavery and finally destroyed its fountain head. The call for the convention declared that "the safety of the union; the rights of the North; the interests of free labor; the destiny of a vast territory and its untold millions for all coming time; and finally the high aspirations of humanity for universal freedom; all are involved in the issue forced upon the country by the slave power and its plastic northern tools." The platform adopted by the convention amongst other inspiring pronouncements, contained the following:

"Resolved, That the history of the formation of the Constitution and particularly the enactment of the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, prohibiting slavery north of the Ohio, abundantly shows it to have been the purpose of our fathers not to promote but to prevent the spread of slavery. And we, reverencing their memories and cherishing free Republican faith as our richest inheritance, which we vow at whatever expense to defend, thus publicly proclaim our determination to oppose by

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all the powerful and honorable means in our power, now and henceforth, all attempts, direct or indirect, to extend slavery in this country, or to permit it to extend into any region or locality in which it does not now exist by positive law, or to admit new slave states into the union."

The men who were called to adopt this platform and to the formation of a new party for the enforcement of great vital pirnciples of free government were called to noble work. They were worthy of the great work in hand. They constituted the best citizenship of Michigan at a time when true worth measured the difference between man and man. They came to the convention not to secure honors or places for themselves, nor to promote any selfish ends, but inspired with a lofty purpose to uphold and defend the fundamental principles which they believed to be essential to the permanency of free government.

From that day down to the present time, almost without interruption, the party which they formed has controlled the political destiny of Michigan. Only twice has a governor of different political faith been selected. Only once has an opposition party controlled the executive and legislative branches of the government. Only once has a portion of the electoral vote of Michigan gone to a Democratic president.

The Republican party was unique in its inception. Minerva-like, it was full formed at its birth, a giant at the outset. It swept the state at its first election and fully demonstrated the wisdom of its founders. The general election of 1860 having resulted in a complete victory for the Republican ticket, that party became responsible for the conduct of the political affairs of the state and nation. The prospect was not an inviting one. Michigan, as shown by the census of 1860, had a population of 751,110, about one-seventh of whom were capable of military service. Her state debt was large and the burdens of taxation were severely felt. Her military department had been largely neglected and she was almost wholly unprepared for war. Under such circumstances the seceding southern states served notice that the state must either give up the union or be prepared to fight for its maintenance. There was no hesitation on the part of governor or legislature in determining the attitude of the state as to such an alternative. The retiring governor, in his valedictory message, said: "Michigan cannot recognize the right of a state to secede from this union. We believe that the founders of our government designed it to be perpetual, and we cannot consent to have one star obliterated from our flag. For upwards of thirty years this question of the right of a state to secede has been agitated. It is time it was settled. We ought not to leave it for our children to look after. I would calmly but firmly declare it to be the fixed determination of Michigan that the federal Constitution, the rights of the states, must and shall be preserved." The incoming governor said in his inaugural message: "We are satisfied with the Constitution of our country and will obey the laws enacted under it, and we must demand that the people of all the other states do the same; safety lies in that path alone. The union must be preserved and the laws must be enforced in all parts of it at whatever cost. The president is bound to this by his oath and no power can discharge him from it. Secession is revolution, and revolution in the overt act is treason and must be treated as such."

The loyal legislature responded nobly in joint resolutions declaring its adherence to the government of the United States and tendering all its military power and material resources, affirming that concession or compromise was not to be offered to traitors in arms. These sentiments of Michigan's governor and legislature were the springs of action which ruled them throughout the bloody war which soon burst upon the country. The messages of the executive and the joint resolu-

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tions and acts of the legislature of the war time were full of inspiration, and the patriotic hearts of Michigan's loyal sons beat out the same music. No disaster was severe enough, no cloud of gloom black enough to abate their determined zeal for the triumph of the union. They realized that the fate of free institutions depended upon the result of the contest, and each fresh disaster only incited them to more determined efforts. The general government never had any doubt as to Michigan's attitude, whether in the state or national councils. Unyielding opposition to any compromise with the enemies of the union who levied war upon it characterized alike the state government and the congressional delegation. The Republicans of Michigan were fortunate in their choice of official representatives. At the head of the state government they placed a man created for the place, and they had selected for the senate of the United States the one man in Michigan best qualified to play his part in the stormy scenes to come. Both men were animated by a passionate love for free institutions and a fierce hatred of slavery. Both had participated in the formation of the Republican party and each had a profound conviction of the eternal righteousness of its basic principles, and believed with all his heart and soul that the triumph of those principles was necessary to the perpetuation of our form of government. To these men the impending conflict was one of principles and not of men, of light against darkness, of civilization against barbarism, of righteousness against the sum of all villainies. Endowed by nature with rare abilities, they devoted themselves with all the strength at their command to the work of arousing the patriotism of the state and nation and of subduing the rebellion.

As the strata of rocks mark geological periods of the earth's formation, so great wars denote the epochs of civilzation We may deplore the fact, but war seems to have been the appointed means for the advancement of civilization. Nature herself is red in tooth and claw, and only the fittest may survive. So every great principle of human government which has endured men have died for. In fact, no man nor nation can become truly great until they cherish something as of greater value than life. And the principles for which men are willing to and do risk their lives take on a new and holier meaning.

The men of Michigan who formed the Republican party were the stuff that heroes are made of, and demonstrated their sincerity upon the battlefield. As we contemplate their records, the scenes of 1861 rise before us. We hear the sullen boom of the cannon fired at our national flag. We hear the call to arms. We see the men who had sworn to defend the nation surrendering its strongholds and munitions of war to its open enemies. We see states seceding and forming a confederacy to destroy the temple of freedom consecrated by the blood of our revolutionary sires. We hear the doleful predictions of the timid, the weak counsels of the compromisers and the ill-concealed rejoicings of the northern sympathizers with the rebellion. But amidst it all we feel the great throbs of the patriotic northern heart, beating out the music of Patrick Henry—"Give me liberty or give me death." They drowned out the voices of the timid, the despondent and the unfaithful with the shrill music of the fife and the rolling of the drums. The volunteers were organizing, mustering, marching everywhere, and sustaining them was the organized conscience of the commonwealth—the great Republican party. Over 90,000 of her loyal sons, the flower of her young manhood, left Michigan's soil for the front and stood shoulder to shoulder with the sons of the republic from other states in every important battle of the war. Having saved their country's honor; having seen that every star in the flag was still there; and having presented their torn, battle-stained flags to the state, they quietly returned to their homes and took up the lines of peace where they had laid them down. But not all of them returned. Their

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muster rolls were like the tattered banners which they brought with them. Many of their brave comrades slept the patriot's sleep in the far southland. They had sunk to rest where the Mississippi rolls his turbid flood to the sea and the night winds had sung their requiem through the pines of Georgia. In the valley of the Shenandoah and on the heights at Gettysburg they bravely died, cheering with their latest breath the union arms, and 13,000 graves attest the strength of their devotion.

The ghost of slavery was forever laid, but some of the embers of the fierce fires of hatred engendered by the civil war still smouldered when the Maine cast anchor in the harbor of Havana. The Spaniard fired his treacherous mine and out of the wreck and ruin arose a reunited nation, and the blue and gray touched elbows, never more, in God's own providence, to part.

The Republicans of Michigan are proud of their party's record during the dreadful days of this the greatest war in history.

If you search the statute books, you will find there splendid monuments to the wisdom of the Republican legislatures which have enacted the laws under which Michigan has advanced from a sparsely settled state of 200,000 at the adoption of her first constitution, to a population of two millions and a half at the present time. Under those laws noble institutions of learning have arisen; asylums for the relief of the unfortunate insane, the feeble-minded and the epileptic; industrial schools for wayward and neglected boys and girls; for the deaf, the dumb and the blind; penal institutions where the idea of reformation predominates over the idea of punishment and hope is written over the doors. The rights of labor and capital have been intelligently protected and the health and safety of our citizens have been properly guarded. Multitudes of other instances might be cited did time permit, but suffice it to say that the great advancement of Michigan to the position of ninth among the states attests the helpful influence of her code of laws.

The judicial system is simple and effective and the judiciary able, upright and impartial. The Republican party is justly proud of its great judges, whose names are known wherever the English tongue is spoken, and whose fame is safe in the annals of jurisprudence.

Vast industries have grown and expanded in the last half century of Republican rule in Michigan, the value of manufactured products for 1900, according to the United States census, being $356,944,082. A mighty commerce flows into our ports and navigates our inland seas. Agriculture flourishes, business of all kinds is prosperous; the manufacture of beet sugar and cement have become great enterprises, and in the production of furniture we occupy a foremost place. The railway facilities, both steam and electric, are in a high state of efficiency and adequate to the demands of local and interstate commerce. We do not claim credit for the natural recources of our state, but we do claim that the wise and conservative policy of the party has aided the enterprise of our citizens in developing these resources.

And now, taking leave of the past, the question presents itself: What of the future? Has the party accomplished its mission, or has it still work to do? In its platform of 1860 the party declared: "That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature and now more than ever before demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph." Does the statement still hold good? I think it does, and that the mission of the party will not end until the equality of all men in their legal rights is recognized by all parties as an indisputable principle of government. The party still has in its keeping the great cause which it represented at the beginning—the protection of the weak against the strong and the assur-

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ance to every citizen of the security of the rights guaranteed to him by the laws of God and of the republic. Neither will its mission end until it is acknowledged on all hands that the constitution was made for man and not man for the constitution. This country cannot fulfill its high destiny under the principles of strict construction of the Constitution. The progress of a great nation requires constant readjustments in order that it may keep abreast of the age, and such readjustments require a liberal construction of its charter.

Even in the early days of the Republic, when it was practically isolated and was almost wholly concerned with its own affairs, the supreme court of the United States, under the leadership of Chief Justice Marshall, held that the Constitution was to be construed liberally with reference to enforcing its spirit rather than its strict letter. Much more should such an interpretation prevail at the present time, when improved methods of transportation have brought the principal nations of the world much closer together than were the most distant states when the Constitution was adopted. The days of isolation are gone for good, and the United States must play her part among the nations of the earth whether she will or not. She can only play her part worthily under the Republican doctrine of a liberal interpretation of the fundamental charter.

Freedom's battle is never ended. From the beginning the mass of the people have engaged in a ceaseless struggle to obtain their rights and to preserve those granted to them. Originally the doctrine prevailed that "he may take who has the power and he may keep who can." Later the brutal law of savage life gave way to the sacrilegeous theory of the divine right of kings. Finally our ancestors established upon this new continent a government based upon the only firm and sure foundation for human government—the consent of the governed.

The reason for our existence as a nation are cogently stated in the Declaration of Independence, and one sentence of that remarkable document included them all: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

But let us not delude ourselves with the notion that because our government is based upon correct principles and guarantees all of the rights essential to the happiness and security of free men, the people may leave it to run itself. History teaches us that the selfishness of human nature generally leads to attempts at self-aggrandizement. The rich and powerful have in the past commonly endeavored to separate and distinguish themselves from the great masses of the people and to establish distinctions of caste and rank for the elevation of their members. While these attempts have been more noticeable and their results more prominent in a monarchial form of government, we would not be warranted in adopting the belief that our own form of government will remain entirely free from them.

The vast accumulations and combinations of capital which we are witnessing at the present time give to their possessors a power which may easily become dangerous. The power to create panics by the withdrawal of capital; the power to control the great natural public utilities and the necessaries of life; the power to control the arteries of commerce and the great highways of transportation in the hands of ambitious, selfish men, are fraught with grave dangers to the peace and happiness of our people and the stability of our institutions. The recent strike in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania has afforded us a great object lesson and has forcibly demonstrated how greatly the comfort and even the lives of our people may be in the keeping of a few men.

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Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. The lessons of history and of our own experience warn us that the safety and stability of free institutions depend upon a vigilant supervision of public affairs by the people and a determined resistance to the slightest encroachment upon their rights.

Under our system of government it is desirable, and, I believe, essential that the electors should be well grounded in its cardinal principles and the foundations for such knowledge should be thoroughly laid in the public schools. It is also essential that the electors should take an active interest in practical politics and control the nominations for public office in order that the representatives of the people may truly represent them. It is too often true that what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and that public affairs are ignored and allowed to fall into the hands of those who sometimes do not have the best interests of the country at heart.

The people are awakening, I believe, to the fact that they must devote more of their attention to public affairs if they are to enjoy good government. The startling disclosures which have been made in the past few months of corruption in national, state and municipal governments and the vigorous efforts made to bring the offenders to justice are hopeful signs of an aroused civic conscience, which I am persuaded will work for good throughout the body politic. It is well that this should be so. Important problems are before the American people, and their solution can not long be postponed. The rights of labor and capital must be adjusted not only between themselves but with reference to the public as well. And the adjustment must be so made as to preserve and protect the best interests of all.

The history of the Republican party justifies the belief that it will settle these questions justly. Not only in words but by its acts, it has demonstrated its regard for those who toil, and the principles which underlie its organization are a guaranty that the rights of labor are safe in its hands. The same record also demonstrates the watchful care of the party for the business interests of the country, and under its benign policies those interests have advanced and expanded until they have become the marvel of the age. It lays no embargo on inventive genius or business skill, but glories in their widening field of action. It does, however, insist that the mightiest combination shall submit to the laws of the land in the same degree as the humblest citizen, and it glories in the courageous enforcement of this doctrine by President Roosevelt.

The prosperity of which we boast so much is not worth having if in order to enjoy it we must be bondsmen to a few multi-millionaires. The many must rule, and not the few.

The Republican party had its birth as the representative of the many, and it has maintained itself in power because it has represented them and had their confidence. They still look to it with undiminished hope and confidence to rightly solve the great problems of the future as it has solved those of the past.

When Dewey swept away the Spanish fleet in Manila bay and Schley destroyed Cervera's squadron at Santiago, a new day dawned which revealed a new political horizon.

World problems now confront us which probably never were contemplated by the founders of our government, who desired nothing more than to hold themselves aloof from intervention in foreign affairs. With but a fringe of states along the Atlantic seaboard, and a vast, unexplored wilderness stretching away to the westward, the most unrestrained fancy could hardly dream of the mighty progress a century should disclose. They builded well; they established certain great and immutable principles of free government, but the problems of the new era must be solved by the light of the new day.

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Our theater now is the world, and we must direct our affairs in accordance with our enlarged sphere of action. Some excellent men have become alarmed at this change in our national status and think they see grave dangers confronting us. It is always difficult for men who have grown up with settled convictions as to governmental policies to readily adjust themselves to new situations. And so some men cherishing our political faith prophesy the ruin of free government and the erection of an empire upon the ruins, unless we turn back.

But we cannot turn back. We have never turned back, from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers down to the day when Dewey flew his famous signal in Manila Bay. We cannot turn back with honor, and we will not turn back with dishonor.

Our task has been alotted to us by the decree of Providence, and we must perform it. We can not turn over the races committed to our keeping to any other nation, and we cannot abandon them to internecine strife. We can only follow our guiding star of destiny and make them free men under our own free government. Our efforts to establish a stable government in the Philippines have cost many precious lives; doubtless they will cost many more. But Providence looks only to results and does not count the cost. Many noble men had to die before this government was an accomplished fact. Rivers of blood had to flow before the stain of slavery was washed away. But no right-minded man will be found to declare today that the sacrifice should not have been made. No man can make a better use of his life than to give it up for the advancement, the betterment, the uplifting, of the human race.

Let us recognize the fact that we are but the instruments of the Supreme Being, who holds the nations in the hollow of his hand and who has guided us through all the days of our national life, and go manfully about our work. Great enterprises are awaiting us "for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." Carping criticism and futile cries of imperialism may make our task more difficult; they cannot stay the inexorable march of destiny.

The Republican party of Michigan is in full accord with the national organization on all of these great questions, and, as in the early days, with supreme faith in its great leader, it confronts with confidence another epoch in the history of free institutions.

THE PRESIDENT: The next and last speaker of the forenoon is a native of Jackson county, who as a boy attended the great convention under the oaks; when he had grown up he went over to Grand Rapids, and became one of the leading lawyers of the state. I have pleasure in introducing to you Thomas J. O'Brien, of Grand Rapids.

Address of Thomas J. O'Brien, Esq.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When any body of people become so civilized as to recognize the necessity for some form of government, and decide among themselves to reserve to the people the right to make and to execute all needful laws, the principles underlying such a government become also a subject of discussion and agreement. In the nature of things differences will arise, of greater or less importance, a part of the people believing one way and a part believing the other.

To the majority is confided the power and the responsibility of conducting public affairs. These separate aggregations become parties, and from time to time struggle for the mastery. Before the constitution of the United States was agreed

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upon, great differences as to the proper theories of government had arisen, and these controversies continued with great bitterness and vigor, even during the administration of our first president. People with socialistic tendencies may say that parties are not necessary, and that only evil comes from their existence, but we all know that party means organization, and that organization means government.

Since the beginning of our government, many questions have forced themselves upon the attention of the people, and have been settled for good or for ill, and have then been forgotten. A few, however, were so important and so far-reaching that they are yet subjects of controversy, or have been adjusted at so great a cost that forgetfulness is impossible. It will do no harm, therefore, if we lay aside the activities of the hour and consider for a moment the fundamental weakness which, without the special fault of anyone, became an essential part of our organization, and grew greater as time proceeded.

It is a singular circumstance that the question of slavery, which afterward nearly wrecked the fabric of our government, should have been the one which gave the framers of the constitution the least cause for alarm. The commission which undertook this great work labored for six long months to build up our great organic law. They recommended its adoption—not because all were satisfied with the result, but because they were sincere patriots, able statesmen and honest men, and believed that what they had agreed upon was the best they could produce. It is true that the subject of slavery excited some debate, and it is doubtful if the constitution as prepared would have been agreed to without some recognition of slave property. Two of the states, at least, declined to become parties to the compact unless the continuing right to import slaves should be given, for a time at least, and so a tacit recognition was given to the right to continue the human traffic.

It is significant that the constitution is silent on the subject of slaves and slavery, but there is an allusion under the word "persons" which all understood and all agreed to. It seemed to be the impression of many of the commissioners, even those from the slave states, that slavery would by degrees be abolished, and while the slave question was referred to in the debates by its enemies in the most bitter and hostile language, no reply in kind came from any quarter, and the existence of the institution met with but a mild defense. The constitution recognized the right to import slaves until 1808, and meantime the value of slave property in most of the states increased, and naturally appealed to the selfish interests of the people. The institution therefore grew, and with this growth came the increased arrogance of the slave owners. The world, however, was growing more civilized, and in the northern states as well as in some of the southern states themselves, a sentiment was growing, hostile to the existence, and above all, to the further extension of the institution, and these sentiments,—selfishness, greed and ambition on the one side, were in direct opposition to the sympathy, the sense of justice and the sense of humanity on the other. These conflicting elements were in such distinct opposition that nothing short of the arbitrament of war could bring permanent and abiding peace.

In a national way the forces met in 1820, when it was proposed to bring Missouri into the Union. After much discussion in Congress, the organic law of that state provided that slavery should never be admitted or tolerated north of a certain line. The opponents of the institution, unable to put an end to it in the states where it already existed, were content to accept the solemn assurance that no further aggression should be permitted, and that the national domain north of the line agreed upon should be inhabited only by free men.

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If the people of the South were sincere in agreeing to the compromise, they repented of their act, and being for the most part in control of the government and its patronage, were able to continue the agitation and to profit by it. There was nothing in opposition but the Whig party, and while this organization practically contained all the resistance that there was to slavery, yet some of the border states were still carried and claimed by the Whigs, and that party therefore, weakened by its zeal for power, was not a fit instrument to make real opposition to the growth, the extension and the plans of slavery. The people of the northern states are peculiarly sympathetic. They had learned of the horrors of slavery and the pitiful sufferings necessarily incident to the treatment of human beings as the commonest of chattels. The question, therefore, was more than merely political. It invaded every household and every pulpit north of the Ohio River.

The election of 1852 went to the Democrats. By this time the aggressions of slavery and the opposition to it had become an abiding conflict, and the signs of the time to the wise ones were ominous as to the future. Following this juncture came the attempt in Congress to admit the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, not as free states, but upon terms which would, without doubt, give them over to slavery. This was the culminating act which bred in the minds of a majority of the Whigs, and quite a percentage of the Democrats of the North, a determination that no further extension should be tolerated. There was no party nor organization sufficiently equipped to unite this growing sentiment, but the storm was arising and gathering such force that nothing was needed but a proper initiative to bring together the Christian men, the patriots and the lovers of liberty everywhere. It is difficult at this instance of time for the newcomers and for the sons and daughters of these pioneers to place themselves in the position of the devoted citizens who had resolved upon a course of common action.

January, 1904, found us a powerful, rich and contented people with no symptoms of danger aehad; with no unsettled controversies of far-reaching importance. How different the advent of January, 1854! The torrent of resistance had been growing and gathering force for years, not only in Michigan but throughout the entire Northern states. Michigan at that time was a sparsely settled community, with not more than six hundred miles of railway within its borders, with a less number of voters than the city of Detroit now has, and outside a few southern counties, the balance was given up to an unsettled wilderness. Nevertheless, "there were giants in those days," and at no time to the present since January, 1854, could there have been mustered within our borders a greater number of resolute, intelligent and patriotic men than was to be found then within the state anxious to act in absolute unison for the accomplishment of a common purpose. Their plans were unformed, they differed in many ways, there was no single leader, there was no present issue ready to be settled, yet they were all members of one band and one community united upon the single question involving the extension of slavery.

At the time stated a large number of the prominent men of this state were Democrats, but they opposed their party on the burning question, and were willing to sacrifice their name, to be called Free Soilers, Free Democrats, or what not, so long as they could defeat the public enemy. The agitation was most active, and meetings were held in Jackson, at Kalamazoo, at Detroit and elsewhere during the early months of the year. These meetings were attended by Whigs and Democrats alike, willing to sink their party differences and create a new organization which might fight in the common cause. Finally, a convention of the so-called Free Democrats was held in this city February 22, 1854, to nominate a state ticket. It ought not to be dull reading if I quote one sentence from the masterly platform then adopted: "That we regard the

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institution of domestic slavery which exists in some of the states of the Union not only as a foe to the domestic tranquility and the welfare of such states, but as subversive of the plainest principles of justice, and the manifest destroyer of the blessings of Liberty. As an institution we are compelled to denounce and abhor it. Yet we concede that in the states where it exists it is politically beyond our reach. But as we cannot deny our responsibility concerning it, so long as it finds protection under the laws of the federal government, so we will never cease to war against it so long as the purpose of the Constitution shall remain unaccomplished to secure the blessings of liberty to all within its power."

It should be borne in mind that all the delegates to that convention were or had been Democrats, and that Kinsley S. Bingham, the nominee for Governor, was a member of that party. As indicating the unselfishness of the people, it should be remembered that these men, and the Whigs who were asked to unite with them, were giving up their pride, their party organization, the bias of early training and all the schemes and plans of personal advancement in order to best vindicate their claims to enlightened patriotism. Other activities, other efforts, other consultations, followed rapidly, resulting finally in the calling of a mass convention on the immortal 6th day of July in this city just fifty years ago.

It is a matter of interest to consider why it fell to the lot of Michigan to have the honor and the glory of bringing into life and active force the party which that day received its baptismal name of Republican. Its territory did not touch the slave states, and presumably was less affected than many others by the slave trade. Why, therefore, did not such old and settled adjoining states as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana or Illinois take the initiative and the honor of this action? It is true that in the states named, as well as in the states to the east, there was activity almost as great as here, but it is doubtful if in any one of them there could have been found so great a number of men as able, as true, and as patriotic as those who were to be found here in active participation in the doings of that time.

It may be said that this brief recital of certain prominent facts in our national history is now found to be dull and uninteresting, but I beg the present generation and the generations which will come after them to look deeply into these causes and these events, if they would fully comprehend the depth and the meaning of the conditions which surrounded our national existence between 1840 and 1854. They should be studied, and so impressed upon the minds and characters of each growing son and daughter that they may comprehend the devotion of those who preceded them, and draw inspiration from their courageous and loyal conduct. It is proper, therefore, that a spontaneous gathering of our citizens should be held here today. Fifty years ago the gathering was the result of a petition signed by ten thousand people. These people forgot that they were Whigs or Democrats, because neither of the old parties could perform the service required. They thereupon turned their backs upon the past and thought only of a successful future.

All honor, then, to these men, patriotic, humane, manly, true and unselfish,—who were willing to bury differences and selfishness and to unite in the noble purpose of preserving the Union, but a Union with no further extension of the immoral and demoralizing institution of human bondage. This was the moving force uppermost in the minds of every one who signed the call for the meeting, and it mattered little who the nominees on the state ticket might be if only they were true and reliable on the one and all important subject. Instead of the ordinary convention of four or five hundred, there came together on that memorable 6th of July more than as many thousands. An outdoor meeting being necessary, they marched to the then well-known

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grove in the western part of the city and there held the meeting at which the words were uttered which "rang round the world."

The leaders of the Free Democrats were not present in large numbers, and there were absent some conspicuous members of the Whig party who had not yet come to the point of giving up their own organization, but Jacob M. Howard, George A. Fitch, Aaron B. Turner, your own Austin Blair and C. V. DeLand, with thousands of others, were present and active in the proceedings of the meeting. So unselfish and zealous were these men that they practically adopted the nominations made by the Free Democrats a few months before, and agreed upon a platform in harmony with, but no stronger than, that put forth by their Democratic neighbors.

The platform of this mass meeting, though long, dealt chiefly with the subject of slavery. The following is the only sentence necessary to be quoted here: "That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of Republican government, and against the schemes of aristocracy, the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed, or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as Republicans until the contest is terminated." Nearly all the Whigs, and large numbers of the Democrats of the state, supported the nominations of this convention, and as you all know, the ticket was triumphantly elected in the following November. Kindred action was taken by other states during the same summer and fall, but it is now a conceded fact that the party which afterwards came to such mighty prominence, and which still holds dominant place in the nation, had its birth and its early successful growth in Michigan, in this city, and in the beautiful oak grove of history. The public conscience went out in support of the new party whose foundations were thus laid so deep and so enduring that no person nominated for a state office on the Democratic ticket was elected for the following twenty-eight years. During the same period, the opposition party never had a majority in the legislature, and out of ninety-two members of Congress elected during that period, it succeeded in providing but six. At the same election of November, 1854, three of the four Republican members of Congress from this state were elected, and along with them enough other members were chosen in opposition to the Democratic party to make a majority of the national House of Representatives.

The most of us have forgotten, but ought to remember, the memorable contest growing out of the organization of the House in 1855 resulting, after weeks of struggle, in the election of Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts as Speaker. It is not now well understood that while the majority of the new members were hostile to the Democratic party, and practically united on the slavery question, yet the new party was divided in many other ways; divided upon questions so important it was feared that the great battle successfully fought in Michigan might be finally lost in the national encounter. We now know that the delegates from Michigan were among the most sturdy and steadfast friends of the successful Speaker, and at once took high rank in the House. The Democratic party had been so strong and so proud that it could not even yet be brought to realize the danger to its organization, nor that the dishonest and wicked effort to make slave states out of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was the beast which even then threatened to arise and destroy it. In the face of the rising storm they undertook to carry by force and by fraud a pretended election in Kansas,—an effort the most monstrous ever witnessed in this country since our government began. This wretched folly so incensed and solidified the North and the new Republican party that there was determination everywhere to right the wrong. There were elected to Congress in November, 1854, two young, vigorous and patriotic men. One was William A. Howard, of Detroit, our first Republican Congressman, and the other was John Sherman, of Mansfield, Ohio. The House of Representatives

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determined to investigate the election in Kansas. Excitement over our deplorable condition was intense, and the Kansas question was the all absorbing topic, and represented for the time being the center of the coming storm. A committee of three was provided for by the House, whose duty it should be to ascertain on the ground the controverted facts, and report them to the House of Representatives. The Territory of Kansas had been overrun by murderous, determined outlaws from Missouri and other adjoining slave states, and the duty devolving upon the Republican majority of the proposed committee would be attended with the utmost hardship and the greatest danger. To this all-important committee William A. Howard and John Sherman were appointed. In vigor of purpose, in heroism, in bravery and in strength of will these men were worthy the undertaking. A history of their peril and hardships would in itself be most interesting. It must suffice to say, however, that they went throughout the state of Kansas, obtained the evidence of hundreds of witnesses and returned to Washington with the evidence, together with a report written by Mr. Howard as chairman, which thereafter became a political classic in our history. Both these gentlemen continued among the stalwart members of the party for which they had done so much, and by voice, pen and services contributed in large measure to shape the action of party councils and to uphold in their purity Republican principles.

The report of the Kansas committee to Congress, with other evidence from an infinite number of sources, was so shocking to the public conscience of the North as to make peaceable government under such conditions impossible, and the conviction became widespread that the nation could not be maintained half slave and half free. On the other hand, the condition of the Northern mind brought to the surface all the worst passions of the Southern people, and the early purposes and plans of the slave holders were no longer a matter of concealment. The rebellion which followed four years later was then planned in the South;—it was only postponed because of the Democratic success of 1856 which followed. The Republican party, now united and determined, held its first National Convention in that year, and after a most strenuous and hard-fought campaign, was defeated by a very narrow margin. Defeat, however, did not discourage or dismay the party, and instead of disintegrating, it grew in strength and in purpose. We all know the outcome of the election of 1860, when Abraham Lincoln was nominated and elected. The postponed rebellion was upon us from the 4th of November, although the people of the North did not realize, and would not believe it. The war which followed is common history, and is outside the purpose of what I have to say.

The history of the party since March, 1861, is the history of the nation. We have had since that memorable November when Lincoln was elected, eleven administrations. —nine of which have been under Republican control. The Republican party has had the administration and Congress during twenty-four years of that time, and there have been but two years out of the half century altogether under the complete control of the Democratic party. We of today, taking account of the half century in the life of our party, and keeping in mind the momentous issues which were met and rightly decided, may well appeal to history to justify the organization and the beneficent purposes which it has served. It came into power under the most extraordinary and most discouraging conditions. With treason widespread, and with actual rebellion following within a few weeks, with a bankrupt treasury, and succeeding an administration which had in every way encouraged and aided the rebellion; with a large percentage of its new officers untrained in public life, it was compelled to decide at once whether the nation should be preserved, or whether disunion and separation should be permitted. It must be left to other times and other occasions to discuss the following four years of strife, and what the results meant to mankind. It will be sufficient to say that the

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party may be proud of its achievements,—proud of its history. No language can be more apt than that lately used by Mr. Root when he said: "History affords no parallel in any age or country for the growth in national greatness and power and honor, the wide diffusion of the comforts of life, the uplifting of the great mass of the people above the hard conditions of poverty, the common opportunity for education and individual advancement, the universal possession of civil and religious liberty, the protection of property and security for the rewards of industry and enterprise, the cultivation of national morality, respect for religion, sympathy with humanity and love of liberty and justice, which have marked the life of the American people during this long period of Republican control."

While the record of our party has thus been glorious in the past, it is well to consider the possibilities of its future. It has endured thus far because its purposes were unselfish and its prevailing sentiments were noble, but it is a party which does not live alone in its past. It denies no tribute of honor to the great men who have controlled and shaped its destinies; yet a nation is not governed by its history nor by its heroes who have passed away. The people must continue in self-denial, in lofty purpose and in unselfish devotion to the country's good. So long as our party is so controlled, it should live and grow in strength and in usefulness. If, however, it should in the future descend from this lofty purpose,—should forget or lose control of the true principles of democracy, it will be best that it bring its unsullied history to an end, and, stepping aside, admit that it is no longer worthy to control our destiny. We may well congratulate ourselves that there are as yet no portentious signs of decay or disruption, but it must be steadily borne in mind that neither past history nor achievements, however noble, will long deceive the intelligence of our country.

A bad Republican is no better than a bad Democrat, and if we would deserve our proud position in the public confidence we must be loyal, unselfish, patriotic and true to past ideals. We of the present, in the enjoyment of prosperity and peace, should not be unmindful of those who made these conditions possible. The tribute which we bring to the honored dead and to the survivors of fifty years ago is something but not enough. The oaks which stood in yonder grove, whose thick summer leaves shaded the assemblage, have mostly gone. The patriotic men who gathered there have in large part also passed away. What they did, and what they made possible, should live in history. There should then be erected in this beautiful city, by a grateful generation, a fitting monument,—dedicated to human liberty, and commemorative of the day and of the men who made the day great.

Regrets from Chairman Cortelyou.

At the opening of the afternoon proceedings Mr. O'Donnell said:

FELLOW CITIZENS: We are greatly delighted at this splendid birth-day party to day. I have here a dispatch from the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Hon. George B. Cortelyou, which I desire to read:

Headquarters Republican National Committee, Arlington Hotel,
Washington, D. C., July 6th, 1904.

Hon. James O'Donnell, President Celebration of Fiftieth Anniversary of the Birth of the Republican Party, Jackson, Michigan:

I greatly regret that my engagements have been such as to prevent me from accepting the very kind invitation to attend the exercises at Jackson, for I should have been glad to be present at this celebration of the 50th anniversary of the

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birth of the Republican party, the great party of progressive Americanism. As in the past, to-day there are no faltering notes in its battle-cries. They ring true on the underlying principles of free government. How splendid the prospect if we press on, sustained by the faith of its mighty leaders, actuated by the same lofty purpose, seeking to give to our people, in ever-increasing measure, the benefits of wise policies and wise administrations under which this republic is carrying to the ends of the earth the priceless privileges of American ideals and American civilization.

GEORGE B. CORTELYOU.

I have great pleasure in introducing as the chairman of the afternoon Senator Burrows, and in assuming the duties of this place I take delight in presenting to him this gavel, made from one of the oaks where the party was organized.

Remarks of Senator Burrows.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MY FELLOW CITIZENS: The brief but most pleasurable function has been assigned me of formally presenting to you the distinguished gentlemen who are to address you on this memorable occasion. It is fitting at the outset that I should in your name extend to them most cordial greetings and make public acknowledgment of the obligation imposed by their most generous response to your invitation. Your presence, gentlemen, greatly augments the interest which this occasion inspires, and gives to it an enhanced significance.

We have met here today, my fellow citizens, to commemorate an event in the history of the Republican party in the state and the country which, in its far-reaching consequences, rivals in importance the Declaration of Independence itself, and marks the beginning of a most important epoch in American history.

The founders of the republic, in the work of forming a system of government for the liberated colonies, and "In order to form a more perfect union and insure domestic tranquility," the only hope for national peace and security, were forced to compromise with a great wrong, and recognize in the constitution of the United States the right to traffic in human flesh. That compromise, which in the beginning made the union of these states possible, proved to be in the end the greatest menace to its perpetuity, and the ultimate pretext for its destruction.

No one understood better than the fathers that the institution of slavery was wholly incompatible with the principles upon which the government was established, but rather than forego the consummation of a federal union so essential to the growth and security of the nation, they yielded to the demand for the recognition of the institution of slavery in the fudamental law of the republic, with the hope and expectation that a sense of justice and the demands of patriotism would surely and speedily restrict the evil and insure its ultimate extinction.

These hopes, however, proved illusive. The cupidity of man and the lust for power overcame the better impulses of humanity and led to the insistence upon not only the retention of the constitutional recognition of slavery, but to the enactment of such measures as would throw around the institution the defenses of the law and the bulwark of judicial sanction. Both these ends were attained. Thus intrenched it grew with the nation's growth until in its conscious power it no longer invoked the spirit of concession for its maintenance and extension, but, boldly trampling down every restraining barrier, challenged the opponents of slavery to an open contest for the mastery of the republic. "The irrepressible

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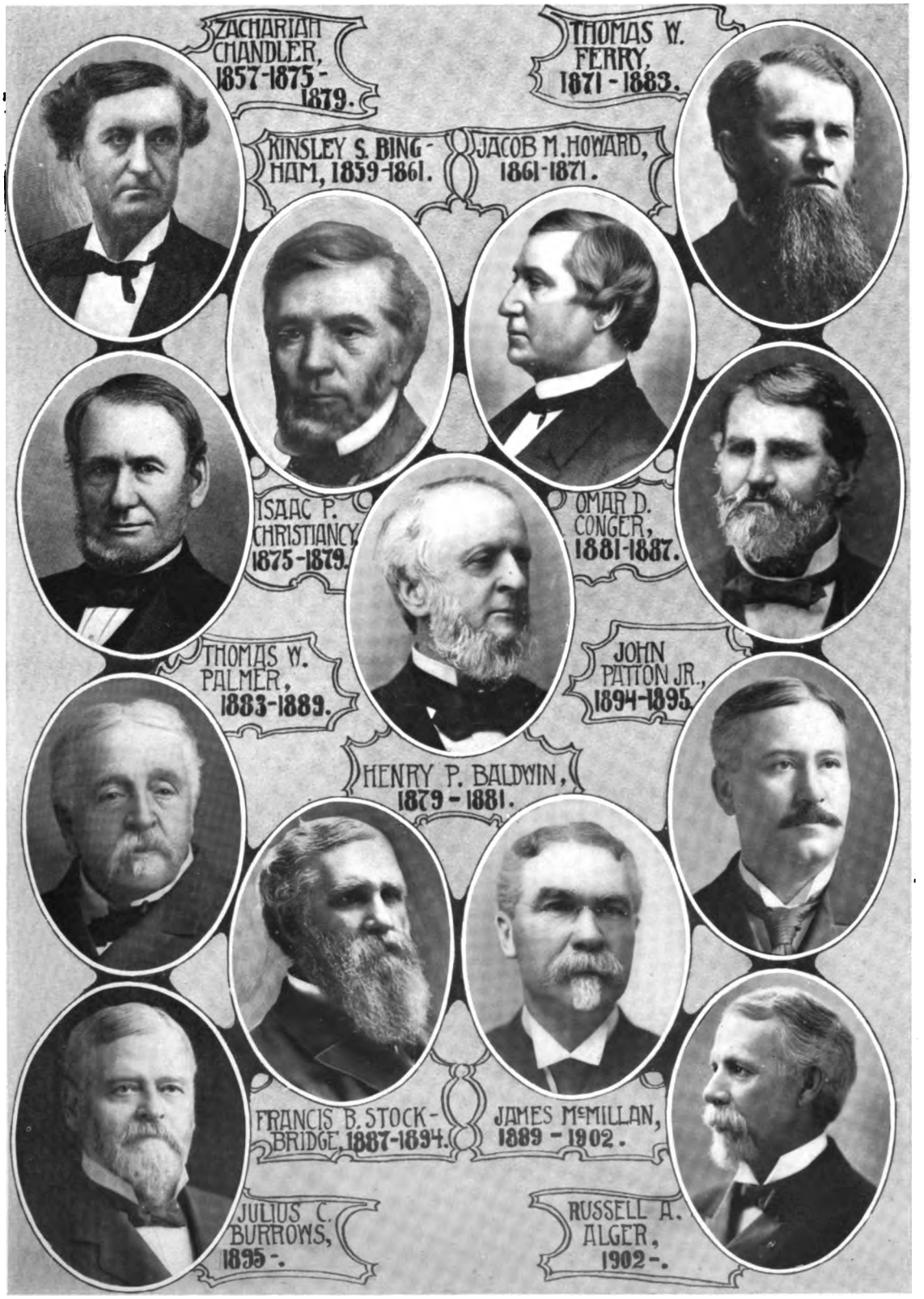

REPUBLICAN SENATORS FROM MICHIGAN, 1857 TO 1904

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conflict" was upon us and was rapidly assuming national proportions. Further compromise was impossible.

It was at this juncture that a call for a mass convention was issued, signed by more than ten thousand electors of the state of Michigan, addressed, in the language of the call, to "All our fellow citizens, without reference to former political associations, who think that the time has arrived for a union at the north to protect liberty from being overthrown and down-trodden," to assemble in mass convention in the city of Jackson on the sixth day of July, 1854, "to take such measures as shall be thought best to concentrate the popular sentiment of this state against the aggressions of the slave power." More than five thousand men, including Whigs, Free-soilers, Abolitionists and anti-slavery Democrats, responded to this appeal, and here, on the day named, "under the oaks," that convention formally and in the most public manner declared "That the history of the formation of the Constitution, and particularly the enactment of the ordinance of July 13, 1787, prohibiting slavery north of the Ohio, abundantly shows it to have been the purpose of our fathers not to promote but to prevent the spread of slavery. And we, reverencing their memories and cherishing free republican faith as our richest inheritance, which we vow, at whatever expense, to defend, thus publicly proclaim our determination to oppose by all powerful and honorable means in our power, now and henceforth, all attempts, direct or indirect, to extend slavery in this country, or permit it to extend into any region or locality in which it does not now exist by positive law, or to admit new slave states into the Union." They also further proclaimed, "We will co-operate and be known as Republicans until after the contest be determined." As an earnest of their good faith and high resolves, and putting into practical effect the results of the convention, they at once nominated a full state ticket, which in the following November was triumphantly elected by a majority of 4,977.

In the light of this history, I may be permitted to digress sufficiently to say that we find ample justification for the claim that here the Republican party was born and christened, and here it achieved its earliest victory. A recent historian confirms this contention by the affirmation that "the first formal use of the title 'Republican' by an efficient political combination was when a mass convention of whigs, free soilers and anti-slavery democrats, at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1854, accepted the name 'Republican' and nominated for governor Kinsley S. Bingham."

All honor to the patriotic men who, fifty years ago, here proclaimed a new declaration of independence and, surrendering the political ties of a lifetime, made common cause for liberty and country. It is a sad reflection to know that a majority of that body of stalwart men have joined the martyred host, but under the providence of God a few remain to inspire us by their example and to share with us the blessings of a government which their patriotism exalted and their fidelity preserved. The work of this convention was so fully approved by the people of this state that the vote for Fremont in 1856 aggregated more than 71,000, and four years later rose to more than 88,000 for the nominee of the Republican party.

The movement here inaugurated made rapid advancement, spreading beyond the confines of the state and culminating in 1860 in the election of Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican president of the United States. Thus was the initial battle of the Republican party fought and won. Mr. Lincoln, more than any other man, was the recognized exponent of the principles of the Republican party and comprehended the magnitude of the conflict when he boldly proclaimed: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to

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fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old and new—North, as well as South.

This declaration of Mr. Lincoln and his known hostility to the extension of slavery, singled him out as the leader of the Republican hosts, and his election to the presidency insured the triumph of the principles upon which the Republican party was founded. Although his life was not spared to realize the full fruition of his hopes, yet he lived long enough not only to see the spread of slavery arrested, but to pen the immortal proclamation of emancipation by which official act the institution was utterly uprooted and destroyed and the republic forever dedicated to human freedom. He went to his martyrdom and sealed with his blood the cause he so zealously espoused.

Early in Mr. Lincoln's public career he called to his assistance and admitted to his confidence and friendship a young man who followed him to his crowning and crucifixion, and who thus acquired an intimate knowledge of the life and character of that great man. That geneleman honors us by his presence today, and can speak with peculiar force of the times and the men connected with the great event we this day commemorate. A distinguished member of the Cabinet of President Roosevelt, a diplomat, potential in the council chambers of the powers in shaping the course of nations, and, above all, a citizen firmly seated in the confidence and affection of the American people, it is with unfeigned pleasure that I have the honor of presenting to you the Secretary of State—the Honorable John Hay.

Address of Hon John Hay, Secretary of State.

MR. PRESIDENT AND CITIZENS OF MICHIGAN: A century is but a moment of history; it has often happened that several of them have passed away, since men began to record their deeds, with little change in the physical aspect or the moral progress of the world. But at other times—of intense action and spiritual awakening—a single generation may form an epoch; and few periods of equal duration in political annals have been so crowded with great events as the 50 years we celebrate to-day. Under the oaks of Jackson on the 6th of July, 1854, a party was brought into being and baptized which ever since has answered the purposes of its existence with fewer follies and failures and more magnificent achievements than ordinarily fall to the lot of any institution of mortal origin. And even the beginning of the end is not yet. This historic party is only now in the full maturity of its power and its capacity for good. We look back upon a past of unparalleled usefulness and glory with emotions of thankfulness and pride; we confront the future and its exacting problems with a confidence born of the experience of difficulties surmounted and triumphs achieved in paths more thorny and ways more arduous than any that are likely to challenge the courage and the conscience of the generation which is to follow us. It is meet that at this stage of our journey we should review the past and read its lessons, and in its light take heart for what lies beyond.

The Republican Party had a noble origin. It sprang directly from an aroused and indignant national conscience. Questions of finance, of political economy, of orderly administration, passed out of sight for the moment, to be taken up and dealt with later on. But in 1854 the question that brought the thinking men together was whether there should be a limit to the aggressions of slavery, and in 1861 that solemn inquiry turned to one still more portentous, should the nation live or die? The

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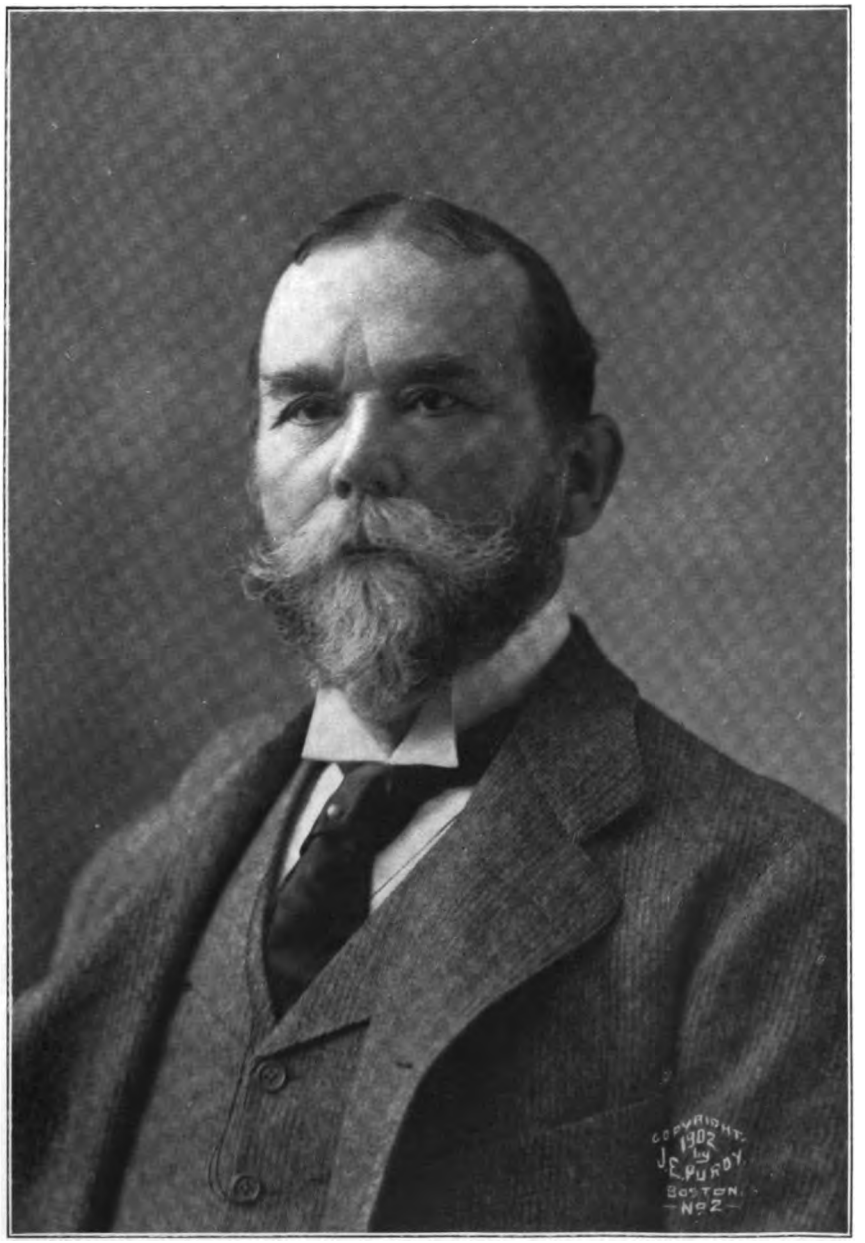

HON. JOHN HAY
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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humblest old Republican in America has the right to be proud that in the days of his youth in the presence of these momentous questions he judged right; and if he is sleeping in his honored grave his children may justly be glad of his decision.

It was not so easy 50 years ago to take sides against the slave power as it may seem to-day. Respect for the vested rights of the Southern people was one of our most sacred traditions. It was founded on the compromises of the Constitution, and upon a long line of legal and legislative precedents. The men of the revolution made no defense of slavery in itself; Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Franklin deplored its existence, but recognized the necessity of compromise until the public mind might rest in the hope of its ultimate extinction. But after they had passed away, improvements in the culture and manufacture of cotton made this uneconomic form of labor for the time profitable, and what had been merely tolerated as a temporary necessity began to be upheld as a permanent system. Slavery entrenched itself in every department of our public life. Its advocates dominated Congress and the State Legislatures; they even invaded the pulpit and grotesquely wrested a few texts of Scripture to their purpose. They gave the tone to society; even the Southern accent was imitated in our schools and colleges.

If the slaveholders had been content with their unquestioned predominance, they might for many years have controlled our political and social world. It was natural for the conservative people of the North to say: "We deplore the existence of slavery, but we are all to blame for it; we should not cast upon our brethren in the South the burdens and perils of its abolition. We must bear with the unfortunate condition of things and take our share of its inconveniences." But the slaveholding party could not rest content. The ancients said that madness was the fate of those judged by the gods. Continual aggression is a necessity of a false position. They felt instinctively that if their system were permanently to endure it must be extended, and to attain this object they were ready to risk everything. They rent in twain the compromises which had protected them so long. They tore down the bulwarks which had at once restricted and defended them; and, confiding in their strength and our patience, they boldly announced and inaugurated the policy of the indefinite extension of their "peculiar institution."

Once embarked upon this fatal enterprise, they left nothing undone which could contribute to the catastrophe upon which they were rushing. The Whig Party had gone to ruin in 1852 on account of the impossibility of combining the scattered elements of opposition to the party of pro-slavery aggression; but they themselves furnished the weapon which was to defeat them. In May, 1854, after several months of passionate debate, to which the country listened with feverish interest, Congress passed the bill organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, omitting the restrictions of the Missouri compromise, which excluded slavery from them. This action at once precipitated the floating anti-slavery sentiment of the country. A mighty cry of resolute indignation arose from one end of the land to the other. The hollow truce, founded upon the legislative compromises which had been observed in good faith by one side and ruthlessly violated by the other, was at an end.

Men began to search their consciences instead of the arguments of political expediency. A discussion of the right and wrong of slavery became general; the light was let in, fatal to darkness. A system which degraded men, dishonored women, deprived little children of the sacred solace of home, was doomed from the hour it passed into the arena of free debate. And even if we shut our eyes to the moral aspects of that heartless system, and confined ourselves to the examination of its economic merits, it was found to be wasteful and inefficient. The Americans are at once the most

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sentimental and the most practical of peoples—and when they see that an institution is morally revolting, and, besides, does not pay, its fate is sealed.

Yet the most wonderful feature of that extraordinary campaign which then began, and which never ceased until the land was purged of its deadly sin, was that even in the very "tempest and whirlwind of their passion" the great leaders of the Republican Party kept their agitation strictly within the limits of the Constitution and the law. There was no general demand for even an amendment to the organic instrument. They pleaded for the repeal of unjust statutes as inconsistent with the Constitution, but did not advocate their violation. Only among the more obscure and ardent members of the party was there any demand for the abolition of slavery, but the whole party stood like a rock for the principle that the damnable institution must be content with what it had already got, and must not be allowed to pollute another inch of free soil. On this impregnable ground they made their stand; and the mass convention which assembled here in 1854, while the vibrations of the thunder of the guns and the shoutings of the birthday of liberty yet lingered in the air, gave a nucleus and a name to the new party, destined to a great and beneficent career. Before the month ended the anti-slavery men of five more great states adopted the name "Republican," and under that banner Congress was carried, and two years later a national party assembled at Philadelphia and nominated Fremont and Dayton, who failed by a few votes of sweeping the North.

Who of us that was living then will ever forget the ardent enthusiasm of those days? It was one of those rare periods, rare in the life of any nation, when men forget themselves and, in spite of habit, of interest, and of prejudice, follow their consciences wherever they may lead. In the clear, keen air that was abroad the best men in the country drew deeper breaths and rose to a moral height they had not before attained. The movement was universal. Sumner in the east, Seward in New York, Chase in Ohio, Bates in Missouri, Blair in Maryland, all sent forth their identical appeal to the higher motive; and in Illinois, where the most popular man in the state boldly and cynically announced, "I don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down," a voice new to the nation replied, "There are some of us who do care. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong"—and Abraham Lincoln came upon the field not to leave it until he was triumphant in death.

I have no right to detain you at this hour in recounting the history of those memorable days. Two incidents of the long battle will never be forgotten. One was the physical and political contest for the possession of Kansas, carried on with desperate courage and recklessness of consequences by the pro-slavery party on the one side, and, on the other, by the New England farmers whose weapons of aggression were Bible texts and the words of Jefferson, and whose weapons of defense were Sharpe's rifles. With words that ring, even now when we read them, like the clashing of swords, the slave-state men claimed Kansas as their right, and the free state men replied in the words of the prophet before Herod, "It is not lawful for you to have her." And when the talking sharpened to the physical clinch, the praying men fought with the same ferocity as the men who cursed.

In the field of political discussion the most dramatic incident of the fight was the debate between Lincoln and Douglas. Not many of you saw that battle of the strong, where each of the gladiators had an adversary worthy of his steel, where the audiences were equally divided, where the combatants were fairly matched in debating skill and address, and where the superiority of Lincoln was not so much personal as it was in the overwhelming strength of his position. He was fighting for freedom and could say so; Douglas was fighting for slavery and could not avow it. The result of the contest is now seen to have been inevitable. Douglas was re-elected to the Sen-

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ate, but had gained also the resentful suspicion of the South, which two years later disowned him and defeated his lifelong ambition. Lincoln became at once the foremost Republican of the West, and a little later the greatest political figure of the century.

If there is one thing more than another in which we Republicans are entitled to a legitimate pride it is that Lincoln was our first President; that we believed in him, loyally supported him while he lived, and that we have never lost the right to call ourselves his followers. There is not a principle avowed by the Republican Party to-day which is out of harmony with his teachings or inconsistent with his character. We do not object to our opponents quoting him, praising him—even claiming him as their own. If it is not sincere, it is still a laudable tribute to acknowledged excellence. If it is genuine, it is still better, for even a Nebraska populist who reads his Lincoln is in the way of salvation.

But only those who believe in human rights and are willing to make sacrifices to defend them; who believe in the nation and its beneficent power; who believe in the American system of protection championed by a long line of our greatest and best, running back from McKinley to Washington, and, as Senator Dolliver so truthfully said, "to the original sources of American common sense"; only those who believe in equal justice to labor and to capital; in honest money and the right to earn it, have any title to name themselves by the name of Lincoln, or to claim a moral kinship with that august and venerated spirit. I admit it would be little less than sacrilege to try to trade upon that benignant renown, whose light "folds in this orb o' the earth." But we who have always tried to walk in the road he pointed out can not be deprived of the tender pride of calling ourselves his disciples, and of doing in his name the work allotted to us by Providence. And I hope I am violating neither the confidence of a friend nor the proprieties of an occasion like this when I refer to the ardent and able young statesman who is now, and is to be, our President, to let you know that in times of doubt and difficulty the thought oftenest in his heart is, "What, in such a case, would Lincoln have done?"

As we are removed further and further from the founders of our party and their mighty work, their names and their fame rise every year higher in the great perspective of history. The clamor of hatred and calumny dies away. The efforts made to weaken the hands of Lincoln and his associates are forgotten. The survivors of those who so bitterly attacked him and his cause, which was the cause of the country, are now themselves astonished when confronted with the words they then uttered. But it was against a political opposition not less formidable and efficient than the armed force beyond the Potomac that the Union men of that day, and their President, had to struggle. It was not merely the losses in battle, the waste of our wealth, the precious blood of our young men, that filled Lincoln's heart with anguish and made him old before his time, but it was the storm of partisan hostility that raged against him, filling the air with slanders and thwarting his most earnest and unselfish efforts for the country's good. But in spite of it all he persevered, never for a moment tempted by the vast power he wielded to any action not justified by the moral and the organic law.

I have always liked the inscription on the medal which the workmen of France, by one-cent subscriptions, caused to be struck after his death: "Abraham Lincoln, the honest man. Waged war. Abolished slavery. Twice elected president without veiling the face of Liberty." This was an achievement new to the world; that a man and a party, armed with an authority so unquestioned and so stupendous, in the very current of a vast war, should have submitted themselves so rigidly to the law—and

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never have dreamed there was anything meritorious about it. Then, if never before, we proved we were as fit to be free as the men who achieved our freedom.

The world learned other lessons in swift succession. We disbanded our army—sent them home to earn their livings as simple citizens of the land they had saved, without terms or conditions; they asked none; they wanted peace; they were glad to get to work. And there were no reprisals, not a man punished for rebellion or treason; not an act of violence sullied the glory of victory. The fight had been fierce, but loyal; we at least wished the reconciliation to be perfect. Then came the paying of our debts. To whom is the credit due of that enormous task, that sublime effort of common honesty, if not to the party which, against every assault of open and covert repudiation, stood by the country's honor and kept it free from stain?

Let me hurriedly enumerate a few of the events in the long and fruitful career of the Republican party, which seem to us to entitle it to the confidence of the country and the final approval of history. After the war was ended and peace re-established, with no damage to the structure of the government, but, on the contrary, with added strength and with increased guaranties of its perpetuity, it remained to be shown whether the power and success of the Republican party were to be permanent, or whether, born of a crisis, it was fitted to cope with the problems of daily national life. It had destroyed slavery, or, perhaps, we might better say, it had created the conditions by which slavery had committed suicide. In the absence of this great adversary, could the party hold together against the thousand lesser evils that beset the public life of modern peoples—the evils of ignorance, corruption, avarice and lawlessness, the prejudices of race and of class, the voices of demagogues, the cunning of dishonest craft, the brutal tyranny of the boss, the venality of the mean? I think it is not too much to say that the last 40 years have given an answer, full of glory and honor, to that question.

The Republican party, in the mass and in detail, has shown its capacity to govern. By the homestead law, with equal generosity and wisdom, it distributed the immense national domain among the citizens who were willing to cultivate it and who have converted wide stretches of wilderness into smiling homes. It built the Pacific Railroad, which has bound the Union together from east to west by bands of steel and made the states beyond the mountains among our most loyal and prosperous commonwealths. It redeemed our paper currency and made all our forms of money of exactly equal value, and our credit the best in the world. By persistent honesty in our finances—in the face of obstacles which might have daunted the hardiest statesmen—it has reduced our interest charges so that in any mart on earth we can borrow money cheaper than any other people.

In the financial revulsions to which all communities are subject, we are able, thanks to our laws and our administrative system, to meet and pass the most violent crises without lasting damage to our prosperity. We have, by the patient labor of years, so succeeded in reforming and regulating our civil service that patronage has almost ceased to cast its deadly blight upon the work of our public servants. Human nature is weak and offenses happen; but they are almost always found out and are punished without mercy when detected. By persistent adherence to the policy of protection we have given to our industries a development which the fathers of the republic never dreamed of; which, besides supplying our home market, has carried our manufactures to the uttermost ends of the earth.

History affords no parallel to the vast and increasing prosperity which this country has enjoyed under Republican rule. I hasten to say we do not claim to have invented seed-time and harvest, and industry and thrift. We are a great people and success is our right; God is good to those who behave themselves. But we may

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justly claim that the Republican Party has been in power during these years of marvelous growth, and we can at least bring proof that we have not prevented it—and this is no slight honor for a party to claim. I will not at this moment speak of the important acquisitions of territory we have made, which render us in many ways the predominant power in the Pacific. But out of the territory we already possessed 14 new states have entered the Union. The census of 1850 gave us 23,000,000 of population—the last one 76,000,000.

The number of our farms—the total of our cultivated acreage—has increased fourfold. Our corn crop is five times what it was; our wheat crop, six times. The capital invested in manufacturing has grown from five hundred millions to ten billions; where it employed less than a million artisans, it now employs more than five millions; and while the number of workingmen has increased five times, their wages have increased tenfold. The value of manufactured property is 13 times what it was when the Republicans of Michigan met under the oaks. The real and personal wealth of the country has grown in this amazing half century from seven thousand millions to ninety-four thousand millions. Our railroads have grown from a mileage of 16,000 to one of 200,000. Our imports and exports have gone up by leaps and bounds to the same monstrous proportions. And, finally, let us hasten to say, as the other side will say for us, instead of the $47,000,000 which supplied our modest needs in 1850, we now collect and spend some $700,000,000 annually. I can only add what Speaker Reed replied to a Democratic statesman who complained of a billion-dollar Congress: "Well! this is a billion-dollar country."

Of course, our opponents, who have got far enough from the men and the events of the great war period to admit that they were not without merit, will say—for they must say something—that we have fallen away from that high level. Now, I am grieved to confess that I am old enough to have seen something of the beginning, as well as of the present, of Republican administrations, and I venture to say that no eight years of government in our history have been purer from blame or have conferred greater benefits upon the country than the eight years of McKinley and Roosevelt which claim your approval to-day. I need not hesitate to refer to it, although I have been associated with both administrations; so little of their merit is mine that I may speak of them without false modesty. Our national finances have never in our history been so wisely and successfully administered; our credit never stood on a basis so broad and so strong. Our 2 per cents command a premium in all markets—no other country on earth can say as much. We paid abroad the other day fifty millions of gold in a single transaction without producing a ripple in exchange. The vast expenditure made necessary by our enormous increase in every element of national growth is collected with the utmost ease and expended with perfect honesty.

Our protective system, loyally and intelligently carried out and improved in the last seven years, not only fills our treasury with the means of national expenditure, but has carried our industries and our commerce to a height of prosperity which is the wonder and envy of our neighbors, who are trying to emulate our progress. In the relations between labor and capital, always a subject of deep concern in democratic governments, we have improved both in the letter and the spirit. How could it be otherwise when labor knows that McKinley and Roosevelt have watched over its interests as a brother might, and capital knows that its rights will be sacredly guarded so long as it is true to its duties?

As to our place in the world, it has simply followed and naturally complemented the steady improvement in our domestic condition. A country growing so fast must have elbow room—must have its share of the sunshine. In the last seven years, without aggression, without undue self-assertion, we have taken the place that belonged to

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us. Adhering with religious care to the precepts of Washington and the traditions of a century, and avoiding all entangling alliances, professing friendship to all nations and partiality to none, McKinley and Roosevelt have gone steadily forward protecting and extending American interests everywhere and gaining, by deserving it, the good will of all the world. Their advice has been constantly sought and sparingly given. By constant iteration their policy has been made plain. We do not covet the territory nor the control of any other people. We hold ourselves absolutely apart from any combinations or groups of powers. We favor no national interests but our own. In controversies among our neighbors we take no part, not even tendering good offices unless at the request of both parties concerned. When our advice is given it is always on the side of peace and conciliation.

We have made, it is true, great acquisitions, but never of set purpose nor from greed of land. In the case of Hawaii, the will of the people of those islands coincided with the important interests we have to guard in the Pacific. In the Samoan treaty we freed ourselves from a useless and dangerous entanglement, and in place of an undesirable condominium we gained possession of the best harbor in the South Seas, retaining at the same time all our commercial rights in the archipelago.

The diplomacy of McKinley and Roosevelt has been directed principally to our present and future interests in the Pacific, on whose wide shores so much of the world's work is to be done. They have constantly kept in view the vast importance of that opening field of our activities. The long negotiations for the "open door" in China; the steadfast fight we made for the integrity of the ancient empire; President McKinley's attitude throughout the Boxer troubles, so severely criticised at the time and so splendidly approved by the result; the position President Roosevelt has since held and now holds in regard to the neutrality of China in the present war—have all been dictated by one consistent policy of taking care that our interests receive no detriment in the Pacific; that, while we wish no harm to anyone else, we shall see that no damage is done to our people, no door shut in our face.

The negotiations begun by McKinley, and successfully completed by Roosevelt, for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which impeded our freedom of action in building an Isthmian canal, was a part of the same general plan of opening a field of enterprise in those distant regions where the far west becomes the far east. In this matter we were met in the most frank and friendly spirit by the British government, as also in the matter of the Alaskan boundary, which was settled for all time by a high judicial tribunal removing a cloud upon our title to another great Pacific possession. And to close this record of success—monotonous because gained by appeals to reason rather than force, without parade or melodrama—came the treaty with Panama, by which we finally gained the pathway across the isthmus by a perpetual grant, insuring the construction of an American canal under American control, built primarily for American needs, but open on equal terms to all the people of good will the world over.

All the foreign policy of McKinley and Roosevelt has been marked with the same stamp of honesty and fair dealing, confessedly in American interests, but treating our friends with equity and consideration. They have made more treaties than any two preceding presidents; and the conclusion of the whole matter is that we stand to-day in independent though amicable relations to all the rest of the world—without an ally and without an enemy.

If the government for the last seven years had done nothing else, it would have entitled itself to an honorable place in history by the manner in which it has handled the questions of the islands whose destiny has been so interwoven with our own. The war with Spain was carried through with incredible swiftness and energy, without

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a shadow of corruption, without a moral or a technical fault. A hundred days sufficed for the fighting. Diplomacy then did its work, and our commissioners brought home a treaty so just and so beneficial that it was impossible to unite the opposition against it. Then came the far more difficult and delicate task of administration. You remember the doleful prophecies of evil with which the air was filled; that we had not the habit nor the ability to govern outlying possessions; that the islands would be cesspools of jobbery and fraud; that the enterprise was conceived in violence and would go out in disaster. And now you know the result.

The republic never is in default of men to serve it worthily when the chief of state is honest and able; when he has the eye and the will to choose the best men and will be satisfied with no less. So in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines we got the best we had. Wood, Allen and Hunt and Taft have each gained a righteous fame. Cuba and Porto Rico are free and enjoying—the one under her own banner, the other under the Stars and Stripes—a degree of prosperity and happiness never known before in all their troubled story. As to the Philippines, the work done there by Judge Taft and his associates will rank among the highest achievements of colonial administration recorded in history. Never since their discovery has there been such general peace and order; so thorough a protection of the peaceable and restraint of evil doers; so wide a diffusion of education; so complete a guaranty to industry of the fruit of its labors. And when they see this energetic and efficient government carried on, free from the venality and bribery which formerly seemed to them a necessity of existence, then, indeed, they are like them that dream.

The principal evil from which they still suffer has its origin here. Some well-meaning people—and others not so well meaning—are constantly persuading them that they are oppressed and that they will be given their liberty, as they choose to call it, as soon as the Republican Party is overthrown in this country. These are the true enemies of the Filipinos, and not the men who are striving with whole-hearted energy and with consummate success to ameliorate their condition and to make them fit for self-government and all its attendant advantages. The so-called anti-imperialists confound in their daily speeches and writings two absolutely unrelated ideas—the liberty, the civil rights, the self-government which we have given the Filipinos, and the independence which the best of them do not want and know they are unable to maintain. To abandon them now, to cast them adrift at the mercy of accident, would be an act of cowardice and treachery which would gain us the scorn and reproach of civilization.

Our opponents sometimes say we have no right to claim the credit of the great deeds of the last half century—that we could not have accomplished them without the aid of Democrats. Nothing truer was ever said, and it is one of the chief glories of our nation, and it forms the surest foundation of our hopes for the future. The principles upon which our party is built are so sound, they have so irresistible an attraction to patriotic and fair-minded men, that whenever a time of crisis comes, when the national welfare is clearly at stake, when voters must decide whether they shall follow their prejudices or their consciences, we draw from other parties their best men by thousands. Bright among the brightest of those who founded our party shine the names of Democrats; and when the war came on, the picked men of that party rallied to the colors. Douglas, shortly before he died, declared his unfailing support of Lincoln. The sun would go down before I could name the Democrats who fought like heroes for the country. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Dix, Sickles, Logan—in short, an innumerable host of Democrats, all rushed into the field and thereafter fought and worked with the Republicans while life lasted. And that vast majority of Lincoln's in 1864 would have been impossible had not myriads of Democrats,

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casting their lifelong associations to the winds, listened to the inward monitor which said, "Choose you this day whom ye will serve." As it was then, so it has been in after years. When the attempt was made to repudiate, in whole or in part, the national debt; or to abolish the system of protection to American industries, founded by Washington and Hamilton, and approved by the experience of a hundred years; or to degrade our currency at the demand of mere ignorance and greed—in all these cases we saw the proof of the homely adage that you may lead a horse to water, but may not make him drink. In spite of organizations and platforms, in spite of the frantic adjurations of gifted orators, hosts of patriotic Democrats walked quietly to the polls and voted as their consciences dictated, in the interests of the public welfare rather than of a party. Even in so lofty and restricted an arena as our Senate, we have seen the ablest and most adroit organizer of his party fail in the most energetic effort of his life to induce his party to reject a great national benefit because it was offered by Republican hands. Half the Democratic senators said this was no question for pettifogging politics and voted for an American canal across the Isthmus.

We do not claim that we monopolize the virtue or the patriotism of the country. There are good men in all parties. I know far better men than I am who are Democrats. But we are surely allowed, in a love feast like this, to talk of what has been done by the family and at least to brag a little of the Democrats who have helped us. We get their votes for one reason only—because we started right and in the main have kept right. We invite accessions from the ranks of our patriotic opponents, and we shall get them in the future, as we have in the past, whenever we deserve them. We shall get them this year, because this year we do deserve them. We come before the country in a position which cannot be successfully attacked in front, or flank, or rear. What we have done, what we are doing, and what we intend to do—on all three we confidently challenge the verdict of the American people. The record of 50 years will show whether as a party we are fit to govern; the state of our domestic and foreign affairs will show whether as a party we have fallen off; and both together will show whether we can be trusted for a while longer.

Our platform is before the country. Perhaps it is lacking in novelty. There is certainly nothing sensational about it. It is substantially the platform on which we won two great victories in the name of McKinley, and it is still sound and serviceable. Its principles have been tested by eight years of splendid success and have received the approval of the country. It is in line with all our platforms of the past, except where prophecy and promise in those days have become history in these. We stand by the ancient ways which have proved good.

It would take a wizard to guess what a dainty dish our adversaries will set before the sovereign people to-morrow. Their state conventions have given them a rich variety to choose from. As to money, they range all the way from Bedlam to Belmont; as to tariff, the one wing in Maryland is almost sane, the other wants raving free trade and dynamite for the custom houses. When they discuss our island possessions, some want to scuttle away and abandon them out of hand; others agree with that sensible Southerner who said: "What's the use talking about expansion? Great Scott! we've done expanded!" One thing is reasonably sure—they will get as near to our platform as they possibly can, and they will, by implication, approve everything McKinley and Roosevelt have done in the last four years. They will favor sound finance and a tariff which will not disturb business; rigid honesty in administration and prompt punishment of the dishonest; the Monroe doctrine and an isthmian canal. To be logical, they ought to go on and nominate the Republican candidates, who are pledged to all these laudable policies.

But they will not be logical. They do not care to oppose our policy; they merely

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deny our sincerity in avowing it. They cannot deny the soundness of our principles; they pretend themselves to hold them. But the function of an opposition is to oppose, and as they are otherwise destitute of an issue they seek to make a few by attributing to us principles we have never dreamed of holding and policies which are abhorrent to us. And, distrusting the effect of these maneuvers in advance, they announce their plan of campaign to be not pro-anything, but anti-Roosevelt. This is a mere counsel of desperation, and the Republicans will gladly accept the issue.

Even on this narrow issue they will dodge most of the details. Ask them, Has the President been a good citizen, a good soldier, a good man in all personal relations? Is he a man of intelligence, of education? Does he know this country well? Does he know the world outside? Has he studied law, history and politics? Has he had great chances to learn, and has he improved them? Is he sound and strong in mind, body and soul? Is he accessible and friendly to all sorts and conditions of men? Has he the courage and the candor, and the God-given ability to speak to the people and tell them what he thinks? To all these questions they will answer, yes. Then what is your objection to him? They will either stand speechless or they will answer with the parrot cry which we have heard so often: He is unsafe!

In a certain sense we shall have to admit this to be true. To every grade of lawbreaker, high or low; to a man who would rob a till or a ballot box; to the sneak or the bully; to the hypocrite and the humbug, Theodore Roosevelt is more than unsafe; he is positively dangerous.

But let us be serious with these good people. What are the coefficients of safety in a chief of state? He should have courage; the wisest coward that ever lived is not fit to rule. And intelligence; we want no blunder-headed hero in the White House. And honesty; a clever thief would do infinite mischief. These three are the indispensables. With them a man is all the more safe if he has a sense of proportion, a sense of humor, a wide knowledge of men and affairs; if he seeks good counsel; and, finally, if he is a patriot, if he loves his country, believes in it, and seeks in all things its interest and its glory. Any man may make mistakes, but such a man as this will make few, and no grave ones.

Such a man is our President and our candidate. He is prompt and energetic, but he takes infinite pains to get at the facts before he acts. In all the crises in which he has been accused of undue haste, his action has been the result of long meditation and well-reasoned conviction. If he thinks rapidly, that is no fault; he thinks thoroughly, and that is the essential. When he made peace between the miners and the operators, it was no sudden caprice but the fruit of serious reflection, and this act of mingled philanthropy and common sense was justified by a great practical result. When he proclaimed anew the Monroe doctrine in the Venezuela case his action was followed by the most explicit acceptance of that saving policy which has ever come to us from over seas. He acted very swiftly, it is true, in Mississippi, when the best citizens of a town threatened the life of a postmistress for no fault but her color. He simply said, "Very well, gentlemen; you may get your letters somewhere else for a while."

And as to the merger suits, now that people have come to their senses they see that his action in that case was as regular as the equinox. He was informed through legal channels that a statute had been violated. He did not make the statute, but he was bound by his oath to execute it. He brought the proceeding which it was his duty to bring. The courts, from the lowest to the highest, sustained his action. He did what it would have been a high misdemeanor not to have done. The laws in this country are made to be obeyed, whether it is safe or not. It is always unsafe to disobey them.

But there has been more noise made over his suddenness on the Isthmus of

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Panama than elsewhere. It is difficult to treat this charge with seriousness. The President had made a treaty with Columbia at her own solicitation, which was infinitely to her advantage, to inaugurate an enterprise which was to be for the benefit of the world. He waited with endless patience while Bogota delayed and trifled with the matter, and finally rejected it, and suggested new negotiations for a larger sum. Panama, outraged by this climax of the wrongs she had already suffered, declared and established her independence. The President, following an unbroken line of precedents, entered into relations with the new republic, and, obeying his duty to protect the transit of the isthmus as all other Presidents had done before him, gave orders that there should be no bloodshed on the line of the railway. He said, like Grant, "Let us have peace," and we had it. It will seem incredible to posterity that any American would have objected to this. He acted wisely and beneficently, and all some people can find to criticise in his action is that he was too brisk about it. If a thing is right and proper to do, it does not make it criminal to do it promptly. No, gentlemen! That was a time when the hour and the man arrived together. He struck while the iron was white hot on the anvil of opportunity and forged as perfect a bit of honest statecraft as this generation has seen.

We could desire no better fortune, in the campaign upon which we are entering, than that the other side should persist in their announced intention to make the issue upon President Roosevelt. What a godsend to our orators! It takes some study, some research, to talk about the tariff, or the currency, or foreign policy. But to talk about Roosevelt! It is as easy as to sing "the glory of the Graeme." Of gentle birth and breeding, yet a man of the people in the best sense; with the training of a scholar and the breezy accessibility of a ranchman; a man of the library and a man of the world: an athlete and a thinker; a soldier and a statesman; a reader, a writer, and a maker of history; with the sensibility of a poet and the steel nerve of a rough-rider; one who never did, and never could, turn his back on a friend or an enemy. A man whose merits are so great that he could win on his merits alone; whose personality is so engaging that you lose sight of his merits. Make their fight on a man like that! What irreverent caricaturist was it that called them the stupid party?

In our candidate for the Vice-Presidency we have gone back to the old and commendable custom of the republic and have nominated a man in every way fit for the highest place in the nation, who will bring to the presidency of the Senate an ability and experience rarely equaled in its history.

I have detained you too long; yet as I close I want to say a word to the young men whose political life is beginning. Anyone entering business would be glad of the chance to become one of an established firm with years of success behind it, with a wide connection, with unblemished character, with credit founded on a rock. How infinitely brighter the future when the present is so sure, the past so glorious. Everything great done by this country in the last 50 years has been done under the auspices of the Republican party. Is not this consciousness a great asset to have in your mind and memory? As a mere item of personal comfort is it not worth having? Lincoln and Grant, Hayes and Garfield, Harrison and McKinley—names secure in the heaven of fame—they are all gone, leaving small estates in worldly goods, but what vast possessions in principles, memories, sacred associations! It is a start in life to share that wealth.

Who now boasts that he opposed Lincoln? who brags of his voting against Grant? though both acts may have been from the best motives. In our form of government there must be two parties, and traditions, circumstances, temperament, will always create a sufficient opposition. But what young man would not rather belong to the party that does things, instead of one that opposes them; to the party that looks up, rather

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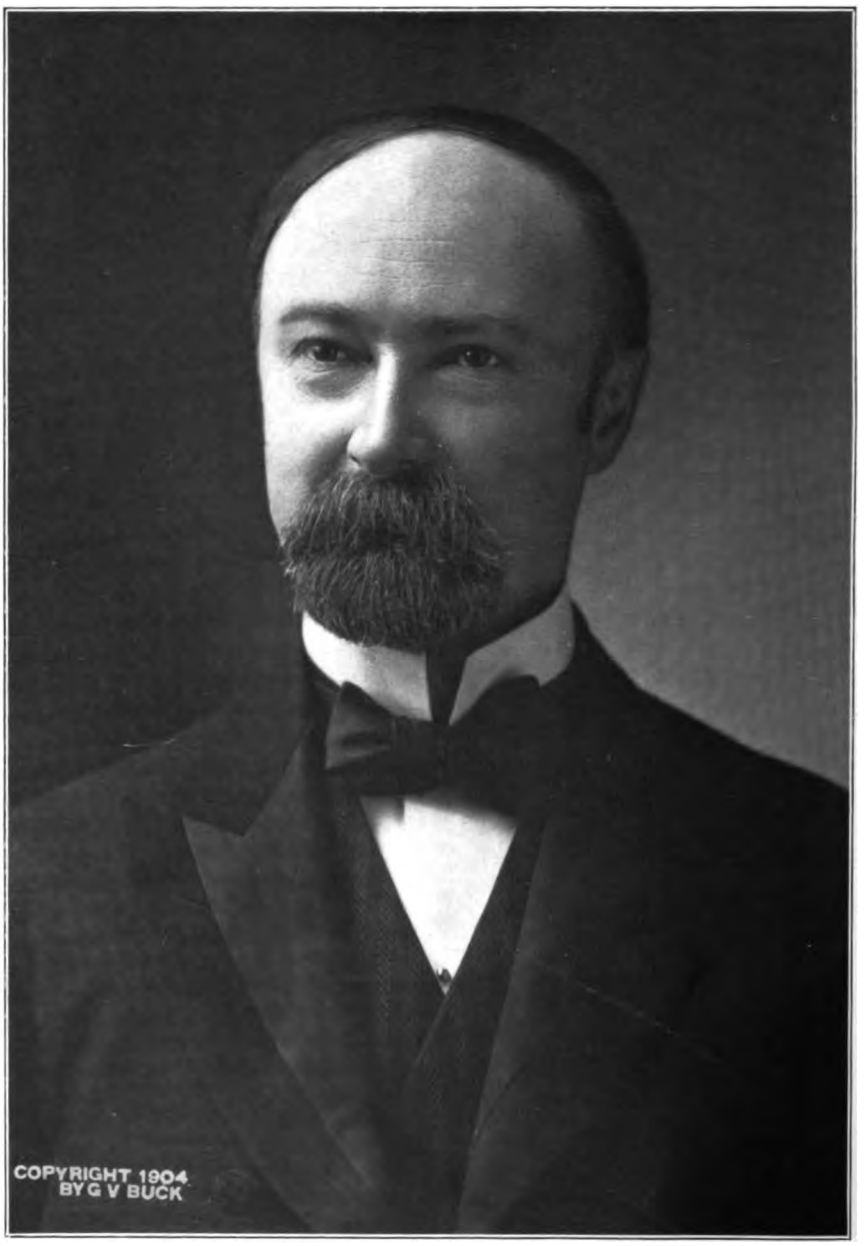

HON. CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS

U. S. Senator from Indiana

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than down; to the party of the dawn, rather than of the sunset. For 50 years the Republican party has believed in the country and labored for it in hope and joy; it has reverenced the flag and followed it; has carried it under strange skies and planted it on far-receding horizons. It has seen the nation grow greater every year and more respected; by just dealing, by intelligent labor, by a genius for enterprise, it has seen the country extend its intercourse and its influence to regions unknown to our fathers. Yet it has never abated one jot or tittle of the ancient law imposed on us by our God-fearing ancestors.

We have fought a good fight, but also we have kept the faith. The Constitution of our fathers has been the light to our feet; our path is, and will ever remain, that of ordered progress, of liberty under the law. The country has vastly increased, but the great-brained statesmen who preceded us provided for infinite growth. The discoveries of science have made miraculous additions to our knowledge. But we are not daunted by progress; we are not afraid of the light. The fabric our fathers builded on such sure foundations will stand all shocks of fate or fortune. There will always be a proud pleasure in looking back on the history they made; but guided by their example, the coming generation has the right to anticipate work not less important, days equally memorable to mankind. We who are passing off the stage, bid you, as the children of Israel camping by the sea were bidden, to Go Forward; we whose hands can no longer hold the flaming torch pass it on to you that its clear light may show the truth to the ages that are to come.

SENATOR BURROWS—In the long life of the Republican party if there is any one state where the contest has been fiercer and more protracted than in another, and at times more doubtful, it is the State of Indiana. And if any one of her citizens has carried the standard of the Republican party with a stronger arm and a more loyal heart it is the distinguished senior Senator from that State, and the present nominee of the great Republican party for the high office of Vice-President of the United States. I have the honor to present to you Charles W. Fairbanks.

Address of Senator Fairbanks.

FELLOW CITIZENS—I only regret that I do not have voice enough to reach you all this afternoon; I am sorry that I can not make you all hear in this patriotic hour. While my voice is inadequate to reach you my heart reaches you all. I have come to say but a word, and after the magnificent oration to which we have listened no other word need be added. It has always seemed to me that there was a fitness in the place where the Republican party was born—no better place for the birth of this great party than amidst God's temples. And it has furthermore seemed to me that no better place upon this earth to construct a platform of principles for the Republican party than in the great oaks, the monarchs of the forest.

We are met to commemorate no ordinary event, for here, a half century ago, American patriots solemnly pledged themselves to vindicate the "first principles of republican government;" to challenge the aggressions of the slave power. Here was issued the second declaration of American independence. Here was taken the initial step which led to the overthrow of slavery and the establishment of the government upon truly national lines. We freely pay the tribute of our grateful appreciation to the memory of those who raised here the standard of Republicanism.

The Republican party was born of the conscience of the people, and it was here dedicated to as high and holy a service as ever summoned men to heroic duty.

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The appeal to the people of Michigan, which was issued by Zachariah Chandler, that stalwart among stalwarts, and, as was said by the great Benjamin Harrison a few years ago, speaking in Detroit, the Oliver Cromwell of the Republicans of the United States—the appeal issued by him and his immortal associates was like a clarion call to exalted service. It was conceived in the same spirit which inspired our fathers in the morning of the American revolution.

The resolutions here adopted were put upon a high plane. Differences of individual opinion upon all other subjects of state or domestic policy were subordinated to the one overmastering question of the hour. It was solemnly "resolved, that, postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by slavery, we will act cordially and faithfully in unison to avert and repeal this gigantic wrong and shame."

Thus consecrated, the Republican party was here christened, and sent forth to accomplish a more vital mission than ever challenged the consideration of the people since the foundation of the government.

To the Republican party was committed, in God's providence, the stupendous responsibility of preserving the integrity of the nation itself. We would not here kindle anew the fires of past hates, or reopen the debate of long buried differences which divided section against section, for we stand reunited under the acknowledged supremacy of one flag and one Constitution. But we may appropriately recall the history of a past generation in which American contested with American for the triumph of opposing theories. In that contest the Republican party stood for national solidarity. It stood for the nation above the state, and the victory it achieved blessed both the victor and the vanquished. American opposed American with titanic power, American met American upon the field of glory, and the God of battles was with the cause espoused by the Republican party. The hates and the enmities which ignorance and false teaching engendered have happily perished, and perished forever. The memory of the valor of those who fought for conscience sake beneath opposing flags remains as a rich national inheritance. The impartial verdict of history is that the Republican party was everlastingly right, and its further verdict is that no American ever surrendered his sword save to an American. Every grave, whether it is tenanted by the heroic youth who wore the blue, or by him who wore the gray, is an enduring pledge of the solidity and unity of the republic. Out of the unhappy divisions which followed quickly upon the accession to power of the Republican party, came a new national birth; a fusing of national sentiment which has increased our national strength beyond the dreams of our fathers.

Fifty years is a brief period when compared with the life of the elder nations, yet it embraces the entire life of the Republican party, a party whose achievements are among the most lasting and luminous of the deeds done by any party since the beginning of the government. It has not lived the life of repose and inactivity, for its career has been characterized by restless energy and serious work. Its lines have been cast amidst stirring events, when great problems were to be done. It has met upon a high level domestic questions of far-reaching significance, and it has increased our national prestige abroad. Our primacy among the nations of the world is generally acknowledged. It is a cause for congratulation to us that the orator of this historic occasion should be one who has done more than any other to establish our prestige among foreign courts —the wise, able, modest friend of Lincoln, the loyal and trusted friend of William McKinley, as sweet a memory as was ever borne among men, the trusted and loyal and wise friend of President Theodore Roosevelt—the Hon. John Hay.

The span of the last fifty years is indeed the golden age of the republic. During

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the greater part of that period the Republican party was in the ascendency. Its principles and its policies were in full operation in the nation, and our country advanced as never before. Its growth during the existence of the Republican party verges upon the marvelous. While the tremendous progress that has been made can not be ascribed, of course, entirely to the wisdom and beneficence of its policies, yet it has contributed immeasurably to the results which have been attained. It has given security and protection to capital and labor. It has been the wise and loyal friend of each, for it has realized that our greatest development must come through their harmonious co-operation. It has inspired confidence among the people in the integrity and soundness of its administration, all of which is essential to the highest development and progress. No duty has been laid upon it, no matter how sudden or grave, but that it has met it wisely and bravely. It has never capitulated to mere expediency or made a truce to wrong. It has taken the moral side of every great question and has confidently trusted in the sober judgment of the American people. It has taught the unity of the republic, the oneness of the American people and their interdependency. It has stood against socialistic tendencies and opposed those malign teachings which would establish class distinctions, which are the very life of monarhcial institutions and which are baneful to the life of the republic.

The country of fifty years ago stands in marked contrast to what we behold today. Then there were thirty-two states with thirty-three millions of people, part slave and part free. Today we have forty-five states, with eighty millions of freemen. Then there was division among the states. Today there is unity of sentiment. Then there was slavery. Today it is dead and buried beyond the possibility of resurrection. The zone of human liberty has been extended beyond the limits of our borders by the valor of our arms and established among alien peoples in the distant seas.

The progress of our people has been manifest in every avenue of human effort. It has been marked in art and science, in philanthropy and charity, in school and church, in industry and commerce. While we have developed in the material world beyond the most optimistic dreams of those who fifty years ago assembled here beneath the historic oaks, we have expanded in all of the higher and better qualities which excite the pride and admiration of the most advanced people.

We stand at the morning of a new century which is to be greater than the past with all of its glorious achievement. It is a happy augury that we enter upon it with the Republican party in the ascendency, under Republican policies which are suited to the largest national growth.

The Republican party has given to history many statesmen of great eminence whose names have become a part of the immeasurable glory of the republic. Great they have been, and well they served their day and their generation. But we enter the new century of the republic with Republicans of splendid ability, a high order of patriotism, and complete consecration to the interests of the American people. We have John Hay in the great office of Secretary of State. There presides over the deliberations of the great House of Representatives as splendid a stalwart, the Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois. No one knows better the debt of the United States to his genius and his ability than those who have watched him in the great public service. It is gratifying to know that Michigan is represented in the Senate of the United States, the most august tribunal in all this world, by two men who stand shoulder to shoulder with the greatest, the honorable chairman, Julius C. Burrows, and the Hon. Russell A. Alger, his colleague. And what can be said of the delegation from Michigan in the Michigan house of Congress—I wish I had time to tell you of each and all of them—but I can say this, that no state has an abler delegation in the lower House of Congress than has the State of Michigan in its Republican representatives.

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We will enter upon the half century which opens before us with such hopeful promise, under a brave, patriotic, wise American, whose ideals are in harmony with the best traditions of the Republic, and whose sole ambition is to lead our countrymen and our country in the paths of peace, prosperity and honor—Theodore Roosevelt.

Fellow citizens, let us take a new inspiration from this hallowed spot, and prove ourselves worthy of the virtue and courage of our fathers.

SENATOR BURROWS—Fellow citizens, let us rise and give three cheers for the next Vice-President of the United States.

Three cheers were given, with a tiger.

SENATOR BURROWS—Fellow citizens, if we stay here much longer and listen to the eulogies upon Michigan Republicans, we will be so puffed up that we shall lose our identity. You have heard from the State of Indiana. Since the organization of the Republican party the State of Illinois has produced many illustrious men identified with that party and consecrated to it. Abraham Lincoln and the men of his time contributed to the success and the history of this great organization and made it what it is. Illinois has furnished men great in peace and great in war. We have with us this afternoon a gentleman who has served his district and his state and the people of the whole country in the Congress of the United States for thirty years, and he is a young man yet. He has been advanced not only by his own people, but by the National House of Representatives, that great commons of the American people, to its chief office. Abraham Lincoln grew in the affections of the people to such an extent that he was everywhere held as Father Abraham. The gentleman I shall introduce to you is already known everywhere as Uncle Joe. I present to you that distinguished gentleman, the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, the Honorable Joseph G. Cannon.

Address of Speaker Joseph G. Cannon.

SENATOR BURROWS AND CITIZENS: In the House of Representatives, having a membership of three hundred and eighty-six, as against ninety senators in the co-ordinate branch, we are obliged to have the five-minute rule, and now at the hour of five o'clock I will work under and abide by that rule (cries of "no, no; suspend the rule").

There is a time for speech and a time for silence. We have had the speech, splendid and magnificent. I shall be brief, because I would not in any way say aught that would weaken the recollection, in the minds of this great audience, of that magnificent oration of the Secretary of State, or the splendid speech of our honored candidate for the vice-presidency, Senator Fairbanks.

I am glad to be here as one of the audience. It is good for me to be here. I have had my political strength renewed. I have been here in Michigan longer today than I was ever in Michigan before; because, while I have gone through the State and to the south of it, this country is so great and the duties of individual citizenship are so important that we can hardly have time to get acquainted with one another; but I can understand now, as I never did before, the answer given by a young man from Michigan, away back yonder, fifty years ago, down on the Wabash in Indiana. It was winter time in the country and a revival was in progress. One evening there was one young man who did not seem to respond. The anxious evangelist came over

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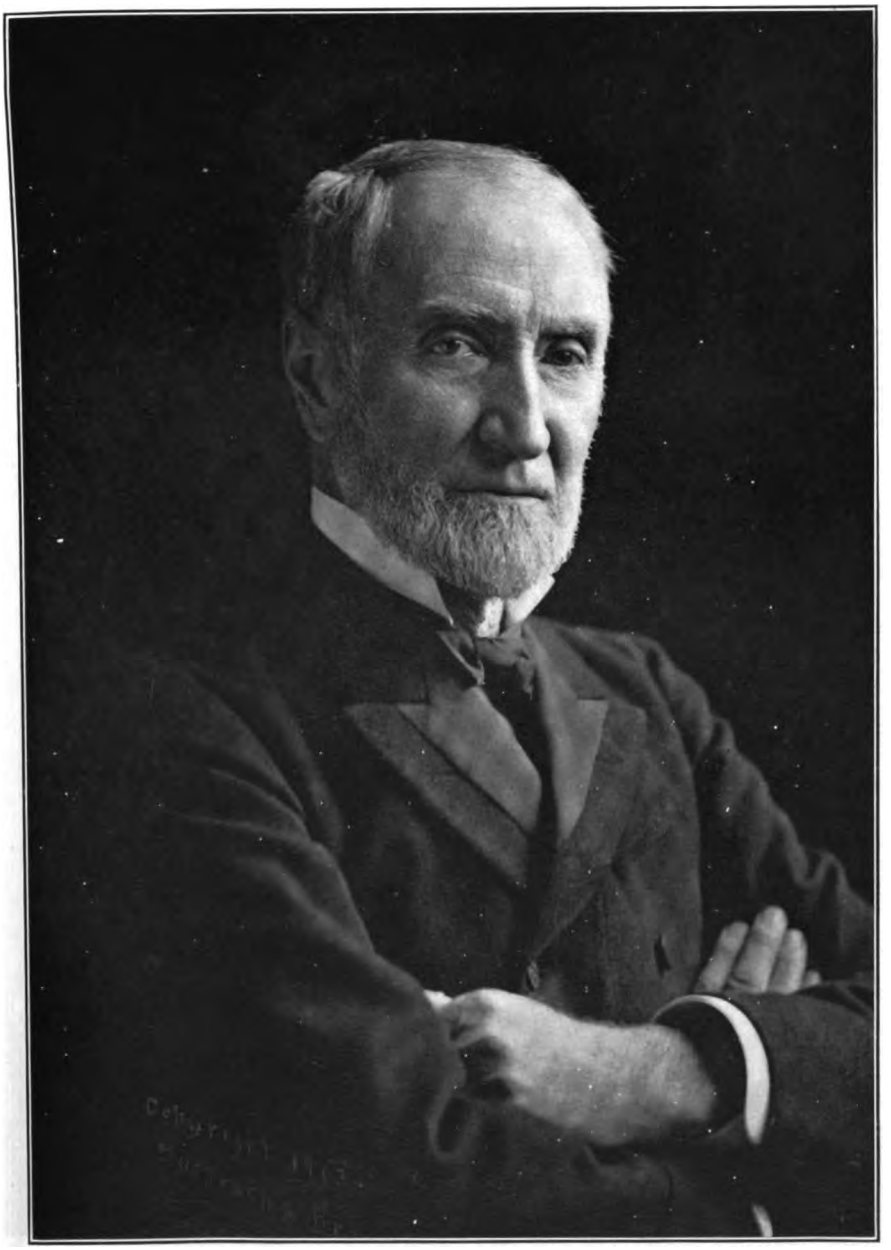

HON. JOSEPH G. CANNON

OF ILLINOIS

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN THE FIFTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

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and said, "My young friend, have you been born again?" "No," said the young man, "I don't have to be; I was born in Michigan."

A word now in all seriousness. There is one matter that I want to refer to, and I will even dare to refer to it after the splendid oration of the Secretary. We are the people, and you might call the roll of this great audience today, and nine-tenths of this audience and ninety-nine hundredths of the audience of the last generation now present, when they would arise and answer to their names and testify, would each one say, "I have trod every path that honest poor labor has trod, in my effort to live and provide and care for the family." That is the glory of the Republic. There was a sentiment against slavery? Yes. On account of the enslaved? Yes; but civilization in the last analysis is built upon the self-interest of the individual. This is a government of the people. What is an individual? Put him on the scales and he weighs from one hundred and ten to three hundred pounds. Those of us who know something of the last generation will recollect that it was a matter of continual annoyance to us, and constantly there came a sense of degradation, that we of the sovereign people and rulers, on one side of an imaginary line, did the same work that was done by servile labor that was driven and owned, just across the imaginary line on the other side. You could weigh out a ton of that labor and weigh out a ton of us, and from early morn to dewey eve we followed the same vocation. It was that feeling in the breast of the Anglo-American, from the standpoint of self-interest, that made you say, fifty years ago, under the oaks and everywhere throughout the country, that the Republic was not large enough to keep servile labor within its boundaries, thereby degrading labor, side by side with the labor of freemen and sovereigns. In the end, following our great leaders, came success. The men who engineered secession were fighting for a policy, for a system. Do you recollect the Confederate Constitution? Written in that constitution was the declaration that no duties should ever be levied to protect American labor. Why? There was one product of cheap and servile labor to be exchanged elsewhere in the earth for the products of other cheap labor. That constitution was shot to pieces.

The history of fifty years! No man, north or south, east or west, would blot it out. I measure my words when I make that statement. Now, what else did the Republican party do? In the very platform on which Lincoln was nominated was a declaration for protection to American labor and American capital. Why? Because we must pursue that policy that will make labor on the farm and in the factory better compensated than corresponding labor elsewhere on the earth. Why? In this country we rule. We rule. All men, thank God, are equal at the ballot box. Now, you must have upon the part of the sovereign something more than honesty. You must have character, wisdom, patriotism. Therefore, you must have the public school, the college and the university. What for? To educate the sovereign that rules the greatest country on earth. Now, in the United States, labor that governs—don't you see, that governs—must have enough to protect the hearthstone, must have enough for hog and hominy, must have enough for clothing, must have enough for shelter, must have a little surplus for the book and the paper, must have enough to support the school. You catch onto it. The Michigan State University at Ann Arbor, dating back before the war, was then as it has been since and is now, like unto a benediction for the whole middle west. You pioneered it. Think of it, two-fifths—two dollars out of every five spent for education on this round earth—are expended in the United States of America.

Now, following the policy of Lincoln and the Republican party, what has been accomplished? The Secretary told you well, in terse, short sentences. Bear with me while I state it in another way. The United States is first in agriculture. And let me

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say to you, some of you farmers and some not, that the agriculturist in the United States, individually and collectively, constitutes the most exacting audience that any man can talk politics or policies to. If you go out and begin talking nonsense to such an audience, some old hayseed will trip you up in a minute. Now, from being an insignificant manufacturing country fifty years ago, we have become first in the world. Fifteen hundred millions of people in the world; eighty millions with us. Yet that eighty millions of people turn out of our factories one-third of all the manufactured products of the world, turn out every year a greater product than that of Great Britain, Germany and France combined. The labor that toils in the factory gets almost two dollars for shorter hours than similar labor elsewhere in the world receives only one dollar for. Well now, don't you see, the two-dollar fellow has got something to buy with. If he is employed every day and he earns his wage, he buys enough pork and beef and wheat and corn to have full rations, three biscuits for every healthy child, with meat at least twice a day. That is where you farmers get your good markets and you ought to know when you did not get your good markets. From 1893 to 1896 inclusive that was a time when honest labor was on the tramp seeking employment, and no man would hire at any price. Great God! you had to take a small price for the product of the farm, and then turn around and give in charity to the suffering brother.

Now, I told you about the size of this market. Our eighty millions of people, year in and year out, consume on the average more than any two hundred millions of people elsewhere on earth. Well, we don't have anything to sell abroad! Don't we? Last year made us the greatest exporting nation on earth. Keep that in your mind. We sold abroad of our products four hundred millions which were the products of the factories, and growing year by year; in the aggregate more than Great Britain or Germany or any other nation sold in the markets of the world. "Well, but, Cannon, the census tells us that thirteen billion dollars—that is thirteen thousand millions—measure the manufactured product of the United States." It is more than that now. It was that much in 1900. Yes, and we sold abroad last year four hundred millions. What per cent was that of the thirteen thousand millions? Three per cent. That is, we sold abroad about three parts out of every hundred that we produced, and our exports abroad made us the greatest export nation on earth. What became of the other ninety-seven per cent? You and I and all of us were the customers amongst each other for that great product. And yet there are economic people in the world who say, "My God! Wages are too high, they ought to be cut down; we ought to pursue a different policy." What for? To get the foreign markets of the world. We have got more of them now than any other nation on the earth, and we consumed ninety-seven parts out of every hundred of our manufactured products ourselves last year. Now look here, which are you most anxious to protect, the three dollars' worth out of a hundred or the ninety-seven out of a hundred? Any fool could answer that question. "Well, but," says somebody, "Cannon, didn't I notice that Gorman and Sharp Williams have had a new revelation, and that they gave out in Congress, and in paper and magazine, that if they came into power they would cut down the tariff, that they would cut it down but would not destroy protection?" Why, if you will turn back to the Democratic platform of 1884, upon which Cleveland was first elected, you will find that they said exactly the same thing. But if you will turn back to the platform of 1892, upon which Cleveland was elected the second time, you will find that in almost the exact words, the full, exact principal was stated against protection on that platform, that was written in the Confederate Constitution. Why, trust them; there are lots of good men amongst them, but on this economic question I would not trust them as far as I could sling one of Ringling Brothers' largest elephants by the tail. Do they think they can handle this great economic question better than we can? For fifty years since this great economic

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principle was reborn, with the exception of four years, this child of ours, under our nurture and direction, has led the country in its great advance and prosperity. Well, are you Republicans going to promise to stand by it? Yes, but that is not necessary. It is bone of our bone and blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. Are you going now to hand it over to Gorman and Sharp Williams? I would a good deal sooner hand over all the infant children in this country to the tender care of step-mothers who had children of their own. "Well, but what are you going to do? You are all right about that, Mr. Cannon, but what are you going to do when they abuse you? when they say you cannot be trusted, when they say you are too strenuous, when they say a volcano might break out?" Well, that is all they can say. A correspondent, a year or two ago, who was going under orders from a syndicate of mugwump, anti-imperialist papers, in a conversation with me said: "Mr. Cannon, I am going to the Philippines." I said, "What are you going to say?" Said he, "I go under instructions to damn everything that is over a foot high or a year old." Well, he carried out his instructions; and yet we do not forget that it is almost three hundred years since the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock, and our kind of people, from that time to this, with their brethren in the south land, through all the generations, have been working out the salvation of this Republic. Eighty millions now, and the boy listens to me who will see it two hundred millions before he rests in Abraham's bosom. Got the Philippines? Yes! Ought we to have got them? We did. We can no more get rid of them than Hercules could get rid of the shirt of Nessus. And in the fullness of time, as our sons and daughters increase and multiply, until we become a nation like unto the sands of the sea, as we go on with our agriculture and our manufactures, seeking the markets of the world, in the meantime we will preserve law and order in the Philippines, a benediction to them, and in the fulness of time a great place for us when we come to deal with five hundred millions in the east. Talk about giving them up! It would be destruction to them, and as you (Secretary Hay) said, it would be dishonor to us. Did you ever hear tell of our kind of people giving up anything in the way of land that we possessed, all the way from the center of the earth to the sky?

But what of the future? Green grows the sod over the graves of the last generation, that wrought so well for the perpetuity and the glory of the Republic. But we, their children, with the training of the common school, hustling for bread, each seeking to benefit his own condition and work out his own salvation, with the culture of the college and the university, march out and by our superior and growing knowledge we chain the forces of nature to production, and nature works more for us in one day than a half a dozen men could have done for us fifty years ago.

And as we wax and grow strong and multiply, what is to happen? We have the Monroe doctrine in the United States. No nation on earth, until we are wiped out, can obtain, by purchase or conquest, one foot of ground upon this continent, from Patagonia up to our northern boundary of 49. Why? Because ours, a government of the people, is enabled to keep house. That includes all of us, and we do not intend that nations elsewhere upon the earth shall come upon this continent, founding their kind of government; and at last, Mr. Secretary, they have assented to the proposition.

What is going to happen? Oh, I wish I could live through the twentieth century. As long as I can I will. With the Panama Canal constructed, opened for the defense of the Republic and the commerce of the world, I expect to live to see the Three Americas railway stretched from the southern boundary of Mexico down through Central America, through the Isthmus, down to the high plateaus on the equator, on down, down, down through the south temperate zone to Patagonia, a way for our commerce; and as the hives swarm, your grandchildren and mine and our great-grandchildren will move out, and they will help develop that part of this continent that lies undeveloped.

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They will go with our laws, with our language, with our religion, with our sense of justice, to occupy the land for their benefit, and like a benediction to the inhabitants there. Great God! With these problems just in front of us, how would you like to put the mystery Parker, under the domination and lead of David B. Hill and Arthur Pue Gorman in their defense and control? Not much. It is not a-going to be done. Nay, nay.

A word in conclusion. Two million and a half of people of today in the State of Michigan. That two million and a half of people produce every year one-fifth as much as was produced throughout the borders and boundaries of the Republic in 1896. Think of it! "Oh, well," says somebody, "I am growing old. I am worth twenty-five or fifty, or a hundred or five hundred thousand dollars. I have quit active business. I would like to buy things cheaper with my fixed income." That is natural. We don't want to abuse them for it. But do not such men know that the necessities and luxuries of life are far cheaper now, made by our own people, than they were fifty years ago when you brought them from abroad? Every man looks out for his own interest; but in looking out for his own interests, and all of us hustling, whether in factory, on farm or as a capitalist, we are a great lot of balance wheels, and when we come to a general result and register the general opinion at the ballot box we get a pretty good compromise. We went wrong in 1892. Say, I wonder if there is anybody in Michigan who voted the Democratic ticket in 1892? If there is, and you could reproduce the same condition that we had then, would you do it again? No.

The Republican party, composed of individuals, is not perfect. Perfection resides only with Deity. But do you know, there is no great policy of the Republican party that has been written upon the statute book and established by the people in fifty years that any one man in the sound of my voice would wipe out if he had the power, not one. "Oh, well, great heavens, Cannon, you are going into ancient history." I will come to modern. "Don't talk about McKinley. We all think he was a great man." Glad of it. Some of you didn't think so in 1896 and 1900. Most of you did; but I will not go there. I will deal with the present and the living. Is there a man in this great audience, rich or poor, great or small, who if he could turn the hand back upon the dial, would turn it back and reproduce the conditions of the anthracite coal strikes, and when he had them reproduced would have the President fail to exercise his great moral force and influence to settle it? I am looking for hands. Not a one, not a one. Well, so you may go on. Is there a man in the sound of my voice who would turn the hand back on the dial, when the Northern Securities Company was formed against the law, and have his President violate his oath, when he had sworn to execute the law? I am waiting for hands. I do not see them. Is there a man in the sound of my voice, is there a man in your State who could be found with a search-warrant, who would wipe out the treaty with Panama and begin anew? Not one. Well, great heavens, what are you going to vote against Roosevelt for? Because he has done what you want done? There could be but one explanation. It is said that when the citizens of Athens voted for the banishment of Aristides, a great and just man, called Aristides the Just, Aristides turned to one of them and said, "Sir, why did you vote for my banishment?" The reply came, "I am tired of hearing you called Aristides the Just."

A word in conclusion. From Zach Chandler and Jacob M. Howard down to the present time, your great State has been magnificently represented in the Senate. During the same period of time in the House of Representatives, that popular body which alone can originate revenue bills, which alone can originate general appropriation bills—that great body that is in constant touch with the people, touching the people every two years and the people touching them—you have been splendidly and mag-

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nificently represented in that great body, and as Senator Fairbanks said, never better than today. And I know your delegation. They sit about me here, and it is the glory of the Republic and the glory of our civilization that if you put a hand on the head of each, you will find that from early youth to the present time they have made their way amongst the good people of Michigan, from poverty or small property to hold your warrants of attorney in the legislation for the greatest country on earth. I am going to ask one thing of Michigan. Your representation in the House is almost solidly Republican. There is only one exception, and that one is a clever man. He is an able man. I have no doubt a good citizen? But when you come to organize the next Congress, after Theodore Roosevelt has taken the oath of office you want to see to it that without regard to personality the man who holds your warrant of attorney to cast your vote for you, against or in harmony with the policy of the administration and the party, will be a man that casts it as you would, if you were there in person. Give us a solid delegation for Michigan. And now, almost at the close of this day, this great anniversary of the great birth of the great party, I look in your faces feeling that you are worthy successors of the men who builded so well, and I shall go back to my own State of Illinois and tell them that if they ever want to move anywhere outside of that magnificent commonwealth, Michigan is the place.

MR. BURROWS—Fellow citizens, I have the pleasure of introducing one of our own fellow citizens whom you have known for years, and who is serving you now in the upper House of Congress with distinction. You have known him in the years gone by. He has served you on the field of battle, he has served you in the executive office of this State, he has served you in the Cabinet of an illustrious President, and today occupies an honorable place in the Senate of the United States. I present to you Senator Russell A. Alger.

Remarks of Senator Alger.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: I am very sorry indeed that Brother O'Donnell and other newspaper men wrote to me and asked me for my speech in advance. I wrote a speech. I did not like it. The second copy was worse than the first; I gave up and sent it to him. But my mind has been carried back today as I sat here looking into the faces of the veterans of '54, and after that when the war swept over the country, how your blood, as mine, has quickened in its pulse, and as we are carried back we thank God that we have been able to live through that wonderful history-making period. We are here, fellow citizens, in the birthplace of the Republican party. The death place of the Republican party, its cemetery, will never be found by Democracy. We started that party and that party is going to live. But I am going to read my speech, and it isnt any of your five-minute Speaker Cannon's speeches, either. It is limited. For now if Cannon should come on and say, "I am going to talk fifteen minutes. I would send home immediately for dinner and supper. However, his speech has kindled the old camp fires, and brought us back to the time when in our enthusiasm we were enjoying the fight that was on.

Nothing is commoner on the lips of our friend, the Democrat, at the end of an argument, than the expression, "You Republicans are always prejudiced." Usually our friend does not intend this expression as a compliment. At times he even uses it as a term of opprobrium. In reality he pays us a high tribute.

It is a curious fact in nature's economy that many things widely different in their development are at their source closely allied. Love and hate are twin children, sprung from the loins of one parent—emotion. Death is the nourishing mother of life. Just

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so prejudice comes of the same blood and bone as does loyalty. True, it is the narrow and self-centered part of the characteristic of which loyalty is the self-forgetting, the courageous element. Yet it is a part of the same characteristic, and never in the written ristory of man, from the time when Troy lay besieged to the time when Uncle Sam placed his foot across the island of Cuba and said to the Spaniard, "Go," has loyalty played an effective part without being aided and sustained by prejudice.

As common labor is to skilled labor in the industrial organization, so in the moral structure of a people is prejudice to loyalty. They are separate elements, and yet if that structure is to stand, they must be inseparable. The one without the other is sordid, unprogressive, aimless; but without the first of these elements the second cannot exist.

Most of us, I have no doubt, frequently pray that the scales of prejudice may drop from our eyes. Yet often the limitations of a man are quite as much a source of strength to him as are his capacities. They make rigid his character and give it form. No man ever cherished equally two professions and prosecuted one to the highest success. No man ever loved equally two countries and loved either greatly.

Of course, loyalty and prejudice, when devoted to an unworthy object, have been, and may be, agents to great weakness and great wrong-doing. But we of the Republican party have no reason to bear otherwise than as an honor the epithet that is cried upon us in anger and in derision.

Cast your eyes backward over the half century just past. Fifty years ago today, here, "under the oaks," guided by the great stalwarts, Chandler, Howard, Blair, Bingham and others, an idea took root which culminated in the formation of a party, destined to stand the invincible champion of freedom and protection, of unity and of prosperity. Small as was its beginning, this party was to guard and direct the growth of a nation soon to be the greatest in the world—a nation that has developed rapidly in population, in wealth, in education and freedom of thought, providing homes for the downtrodden of the world, and hope for the future of mankind.

Fifty years—few in number and wholly within the memory of a large portion of this great audience, yet more events have been crowded into this short space than any previous period of thrice its length. Fifty years ago this country, now the richest on earth, had but twenty-four millions of people; today it has over eighty millions. Fifty years ago its property value was a little more than seven billions of dollars; while now it exceeds ninety-four billions of dollars. If we could gather statistics showing the present industrial condition of the United States it would be too amazing for belief, too great to be comprehended by the mind of man, and it seems almost boastful when we attempt even to touch upon its outlines.

During these fifty years a great civil war came upon us and half a million young lives were sacrificed to save it. The war threatened a disunion, but the valor of the armies loyal to the nation prevailed. It was preserved and is today reunited and happy, enjoying greater prosperity than any other country.

Later, almost without warning, a war between the United States and Spain was precipitated, and within 113 days from its declaration the enemy had sued for peace, and a protocol was signed ending the conflict. What need we say of this result? Great, indeed, must have been the development of a country that made possible this swift victory.

And now what about the people who compose this rapidly increasing population? Nearly every nation on earth has greater or less representation with us. Neighbors on the farms or in the busy hives of commerce may have come to us from widely different ends of the earth, speaking entirely different languages, or they may have had their origin on American soil; but all are now one harmonious, peace-loving and pros-

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perous whole. May God stay the day when it will become necessary to again take up arms against a foe to the American nation or to that which it represents so truly and well—Liberty!

Fifty years ago, the American flag was accorded either slight courtesy or treated with contempt by the world powers. Today the Stars and Stripes sail majestically around the globe and are saluted in every port as is no other flag. Fifty years ago the United States was entirely ignored when war conferences between nations were being held. Republican wisdom, given expression either in thought or action, has rescued the nation from this inglorious position and raised it to one of power and influence, the envy of every other country on the globe.

Now, gentlemen, though it is useless to claim for any aggregation of men a record not flavored by error, it is useful to remember that the Republican party has made effective some of the greatest ideals of the American people, and furthermore that this effectiveness has been brought about by the perfect organization and unswerving loyalty of men who were wise enough to look beyond the little evil for the sake of accomplishing the great good. Of course, there comes an hour when a duty higher than party fealty supervenes. But let him who thinks to cast his ballot against a party which has written history so large, pause and make certain that that hour has come.

To you young men, and you in the prime of life, let me say that most of us who for the last fifty years have worked these fields are now bending over the plow. Our hands are stiff and our feet weary. Soon all the work and all the responsibility will be yours. Do not treat it lightly. Create your ideals, and, as you may, keep them. But remember that our party means the ideals of many millions of men, worked out over half a century of time. Be faithful, be loyal, yes, and be prejudiced, for it is prejudice such as this that wins wars and that maintains peace.

MR. O'DONNELL—Ladies and Gentlemen: The Republican nominee for Governor, the next Governor of the State of Michigan, Fred M. Warner, is on the platform. It is late and he does not want to speak, but I want you to see him.

MR. WARNER—Just a moment. I will take only one minute. As I have been listening to the able addresses here this afternoon, I have been thinking how safe it has always been to trust the working out of all great problems to the Republican party. Sometimes it may have taken longer than was expected, and some of our friends may have become impatient; but safely and wisely and surely, the problems have all been solved, from the days of Abraham Lincoln to Theodore Roosevelt. Michigan's brightest glory is that here in this city of Jackson, beneath Michigan oaks, inspired by Michigan's patriotism, there was born the grandest of the great political parties of this or any other time. And when the history of our State is written, in years to come, if the historian does his work well, the day that will stand out prominently above all others will be July 6, 1854.

MR. O'DONNELL—There is in the audience the Rev. S. B. Smith, who was the temporary chairman of the convention of July 6, 1854. I want to present him to you.

MR. SMITH—Two glorious days, fifty years ago and today. That is all I have to say.

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PORTRAITS

OF

PROMINENT REPUBLICANS

OF THE

PRESENT DAY

IN

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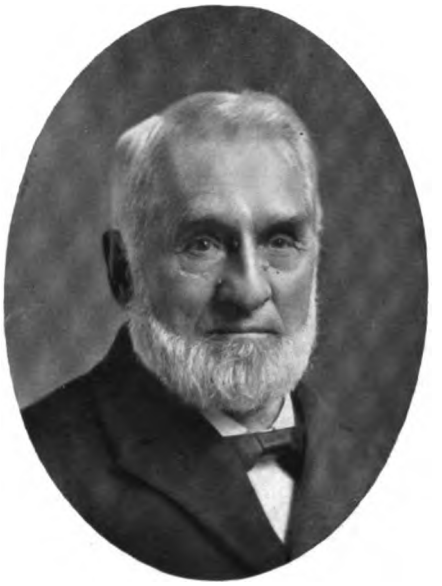

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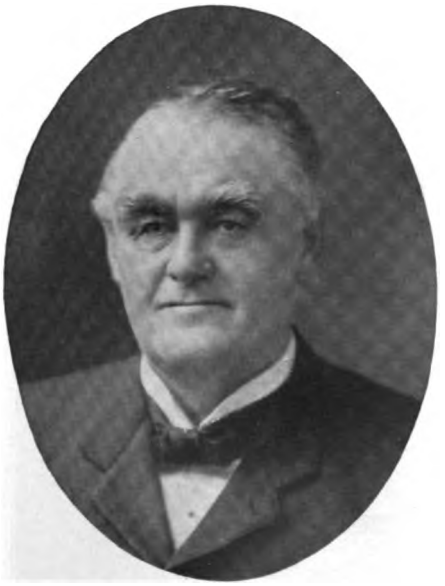

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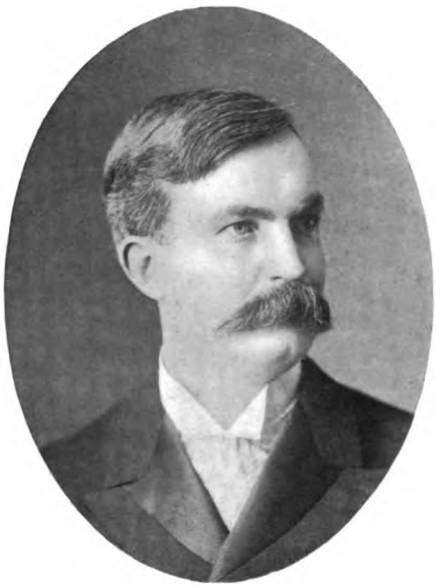

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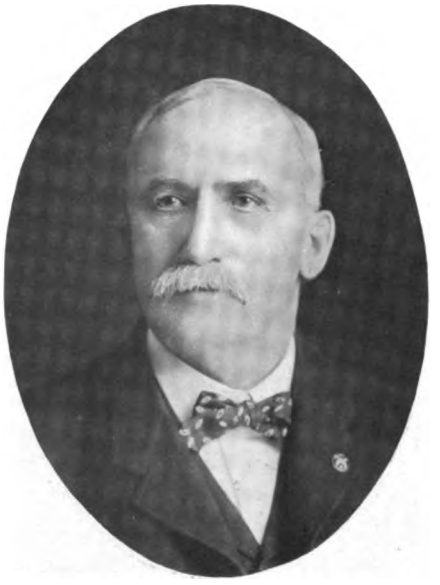

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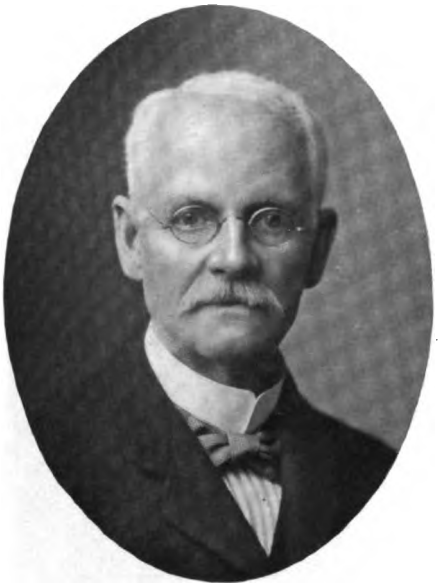

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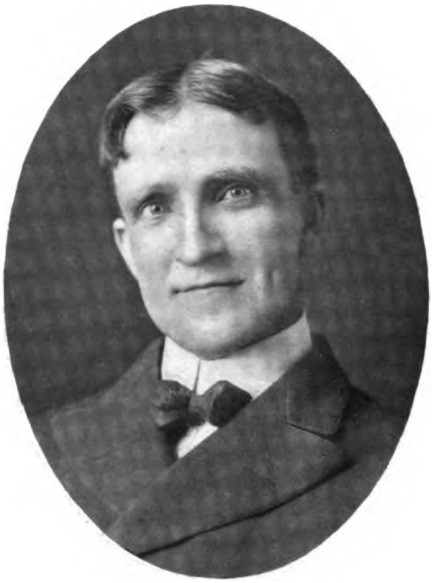

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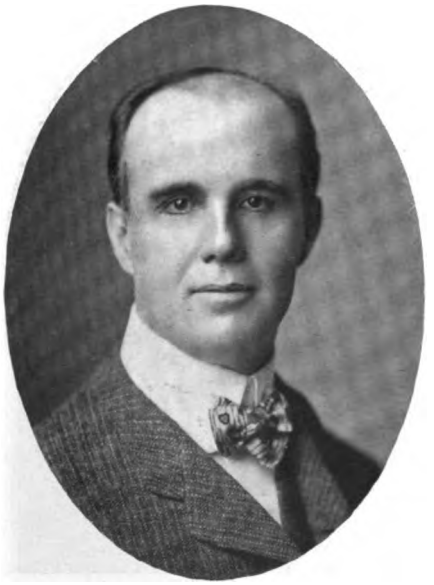

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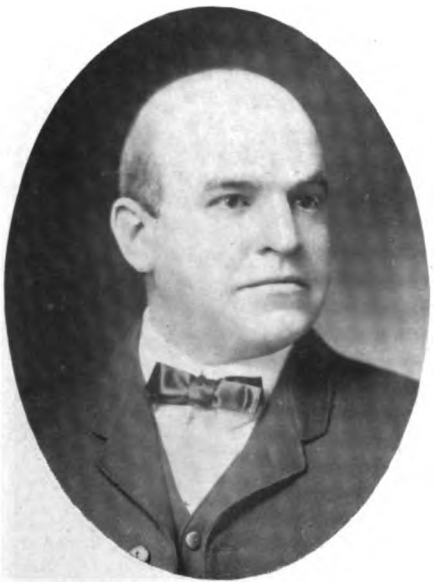

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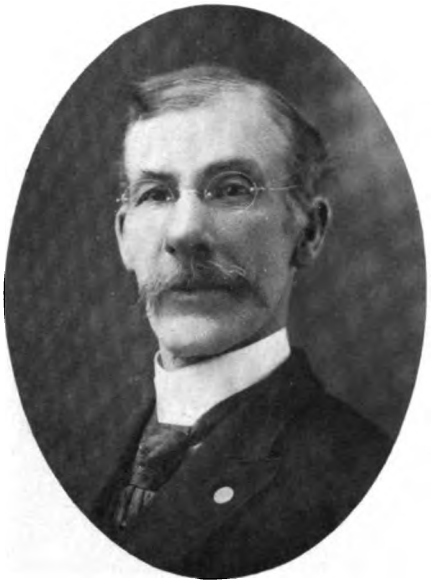

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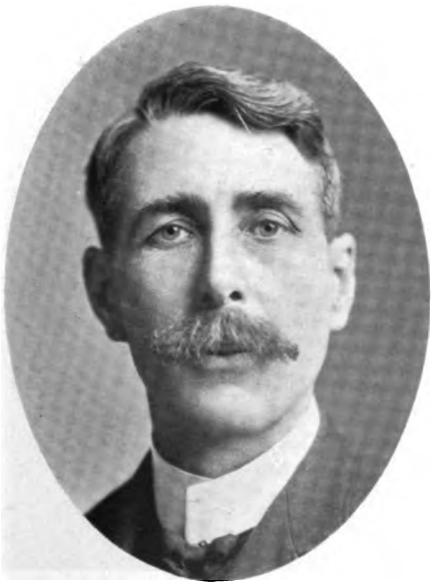

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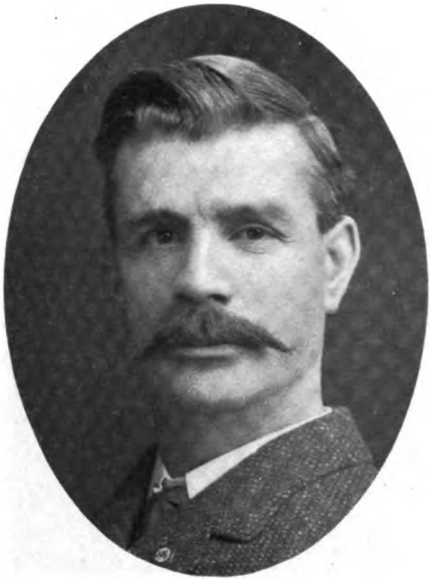

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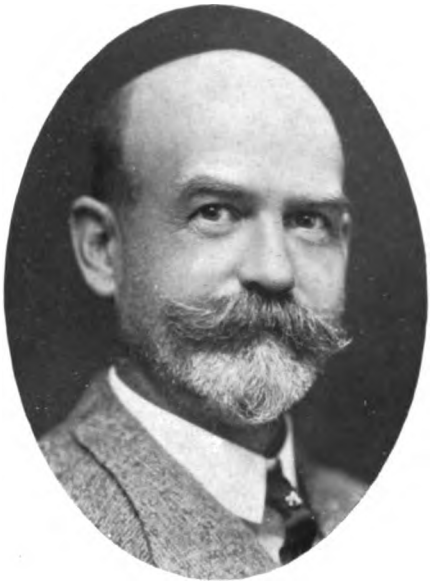

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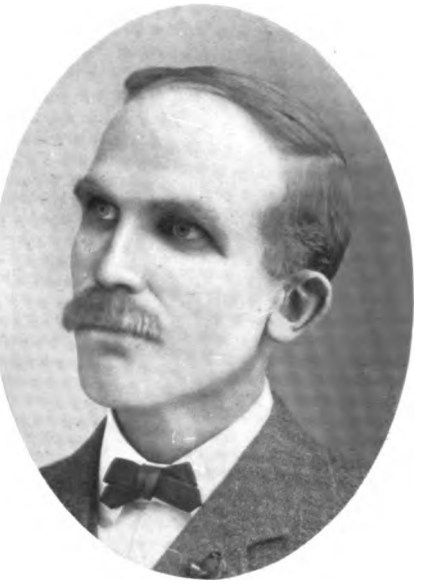

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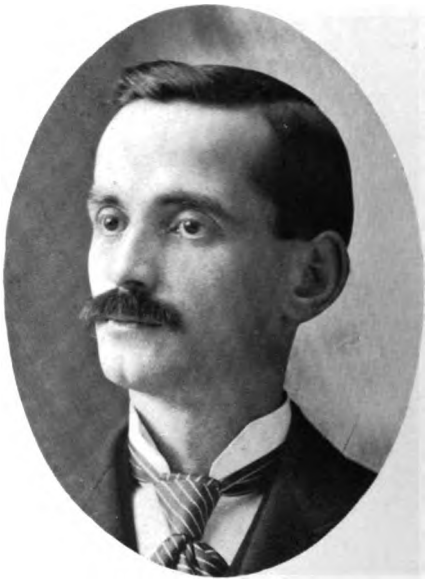

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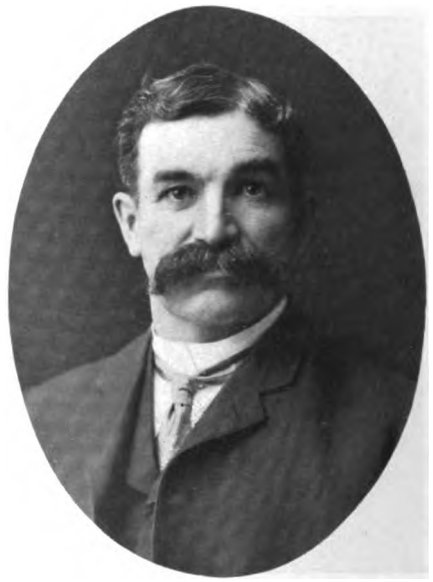

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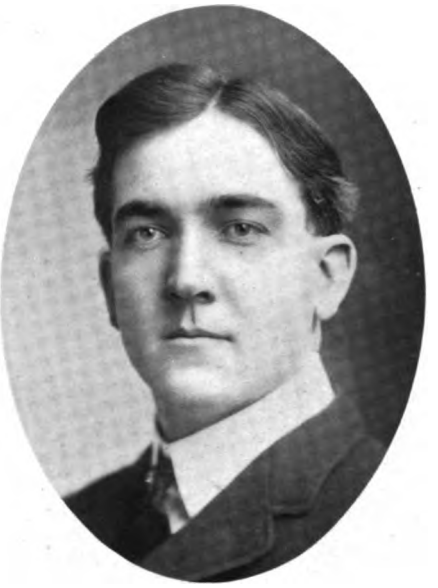

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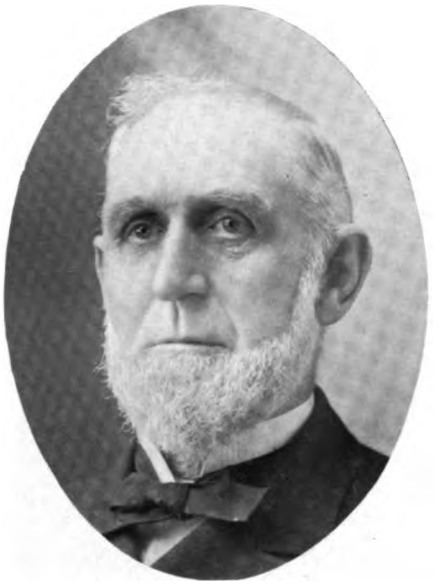

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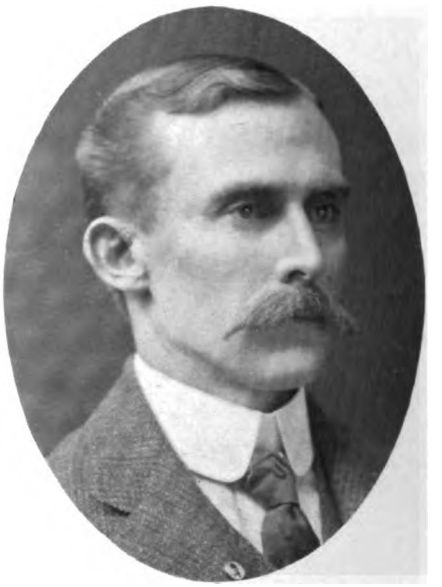

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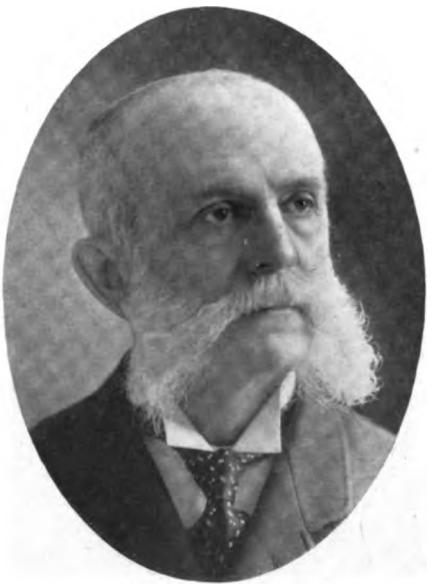

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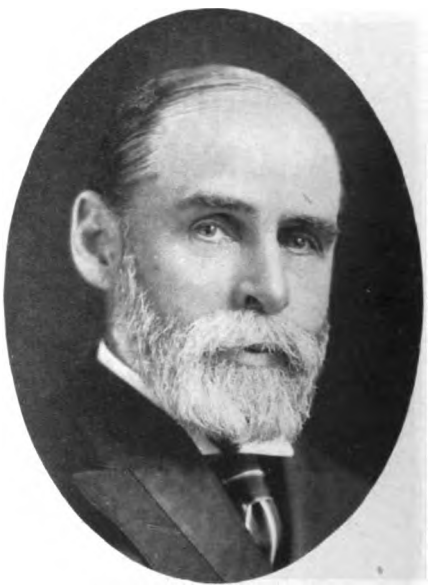

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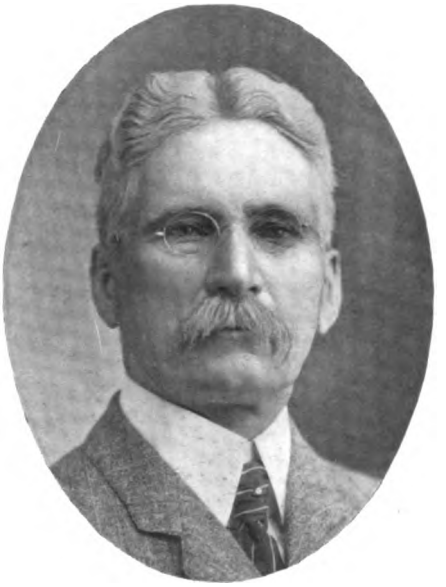

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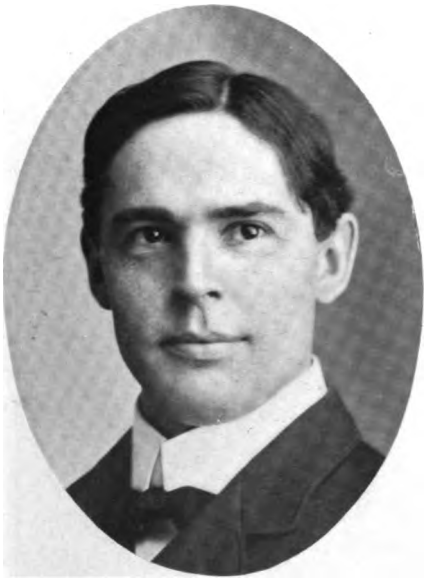

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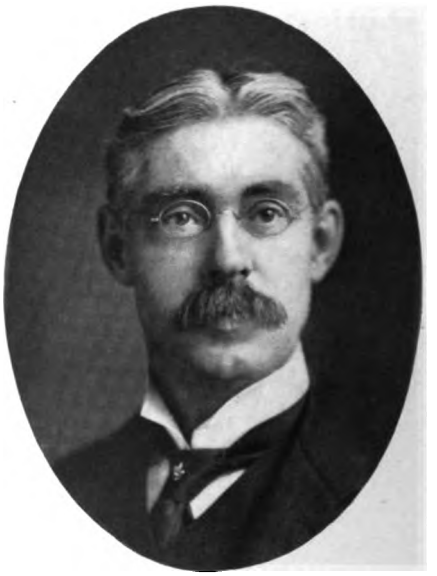

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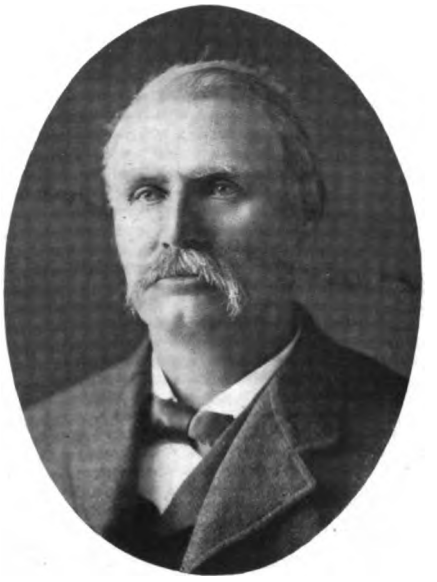

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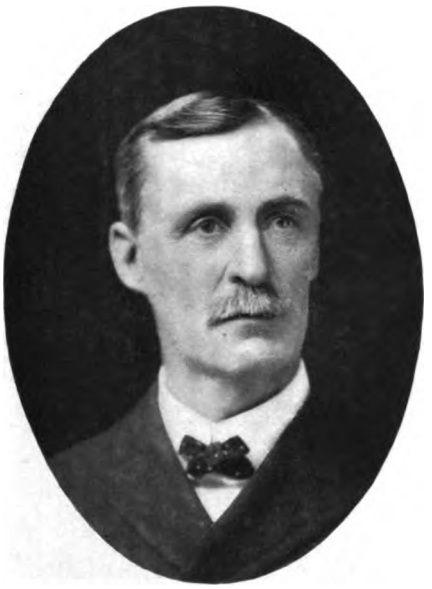

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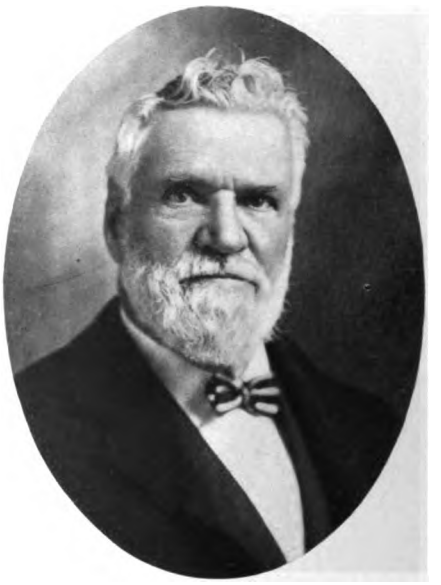

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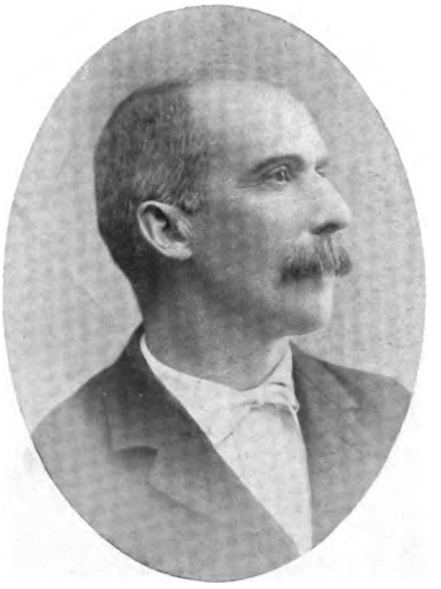

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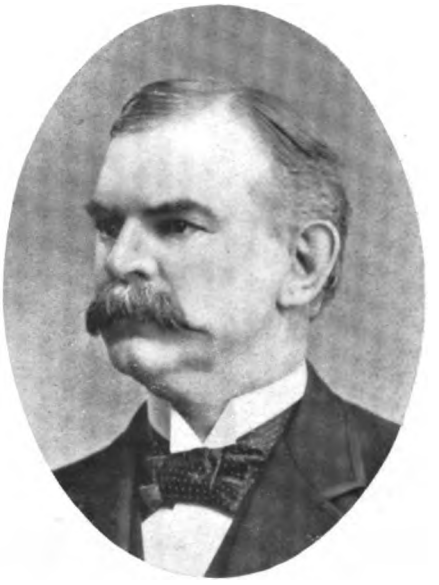

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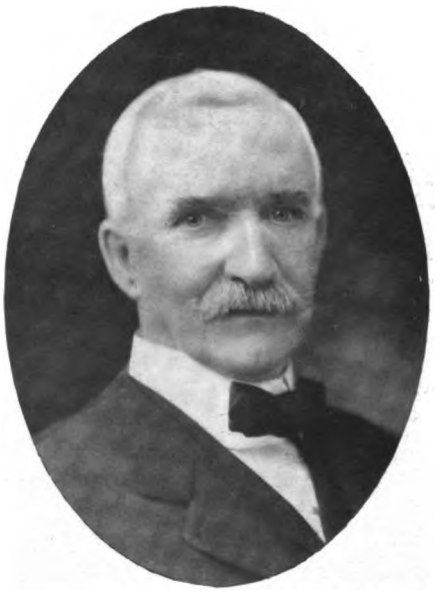

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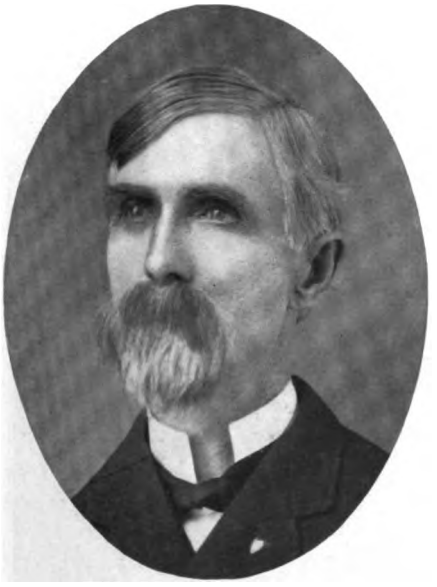

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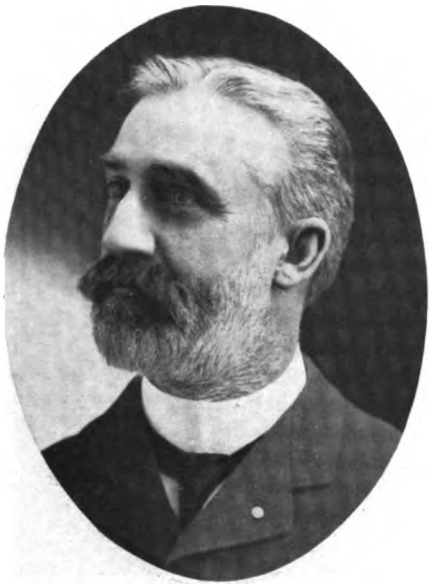

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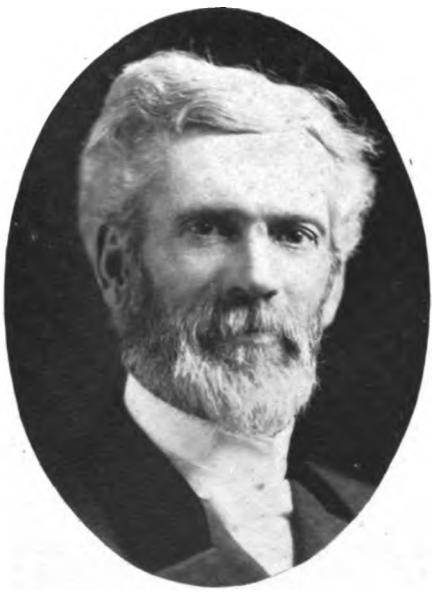

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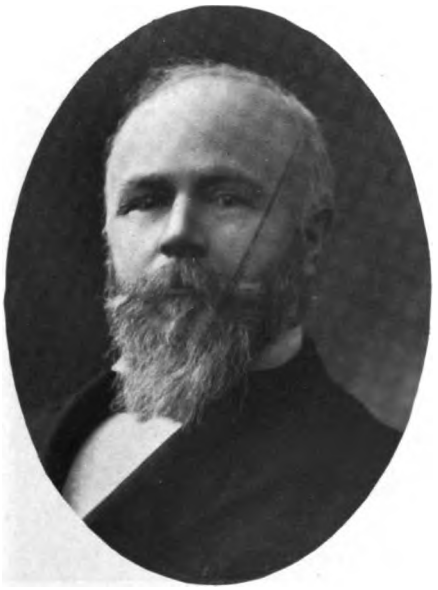

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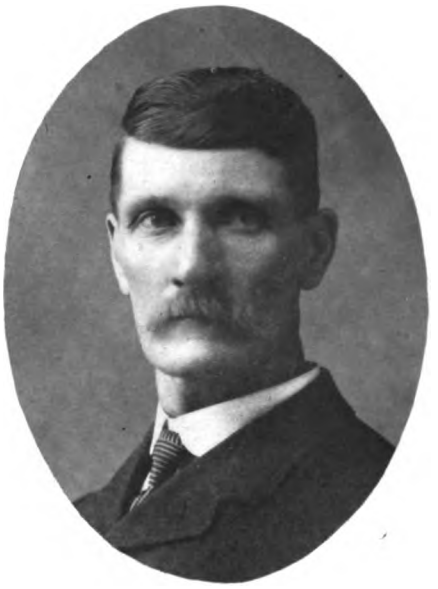

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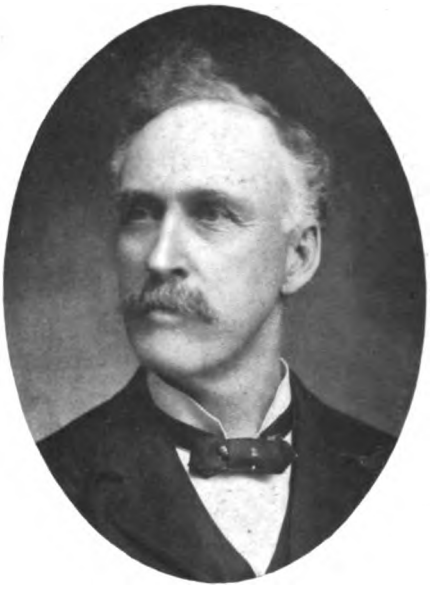

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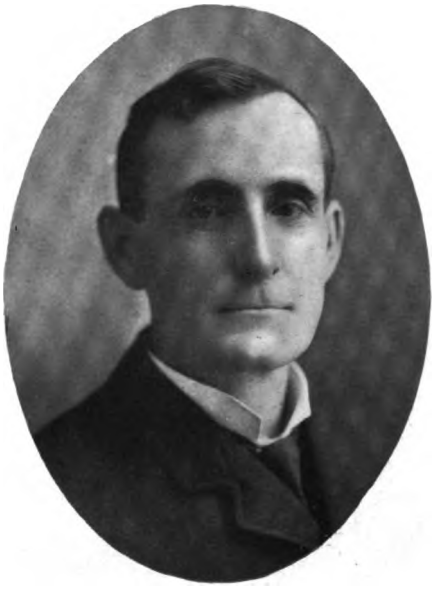

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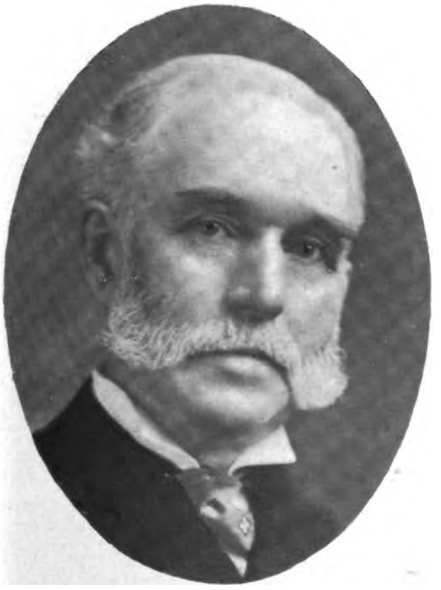

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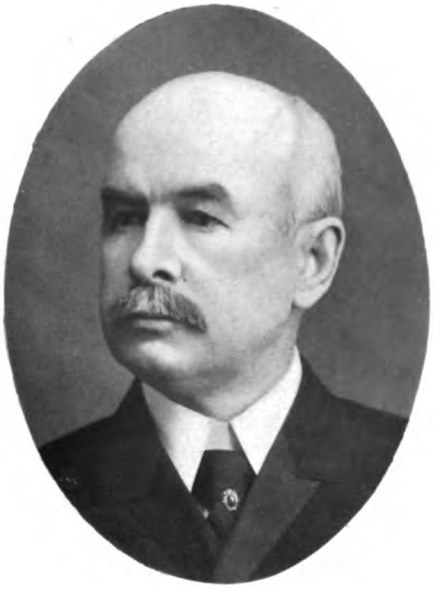

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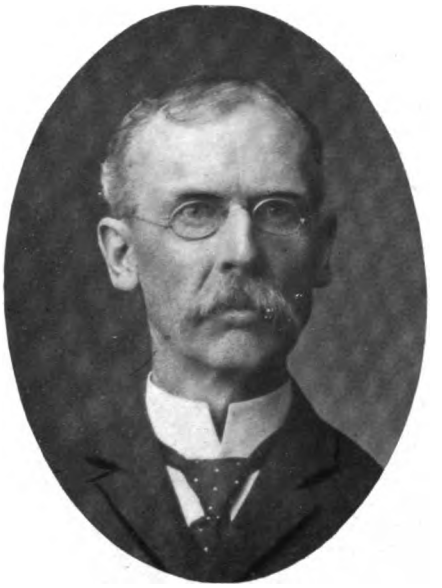

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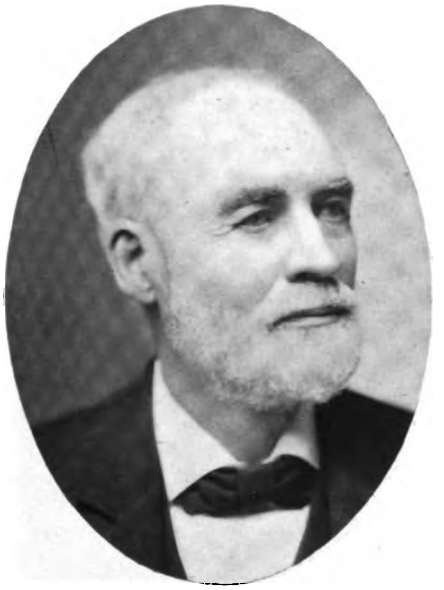

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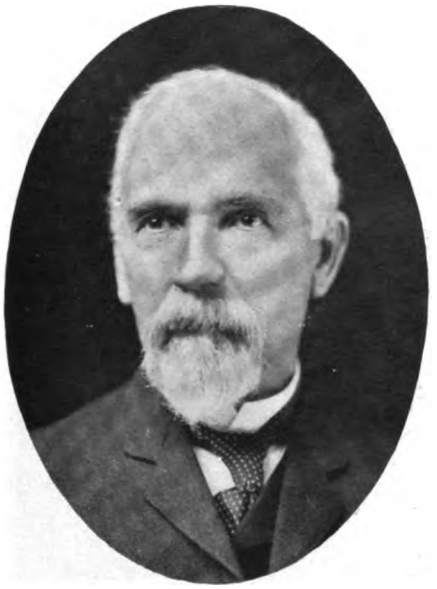

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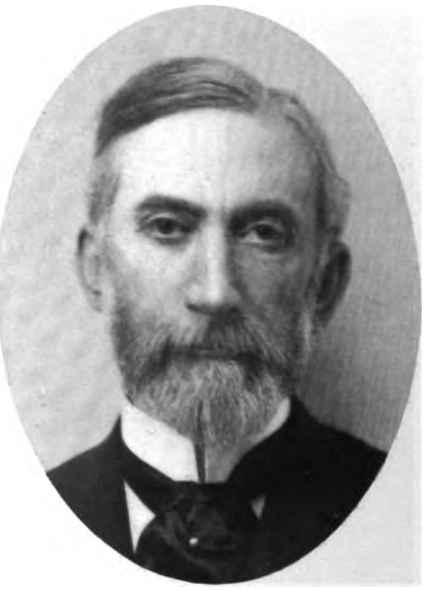

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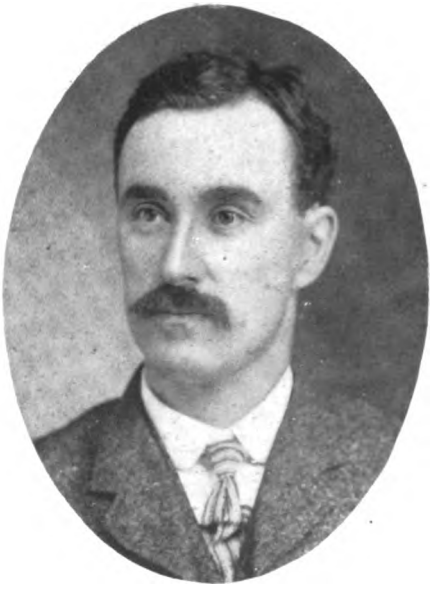

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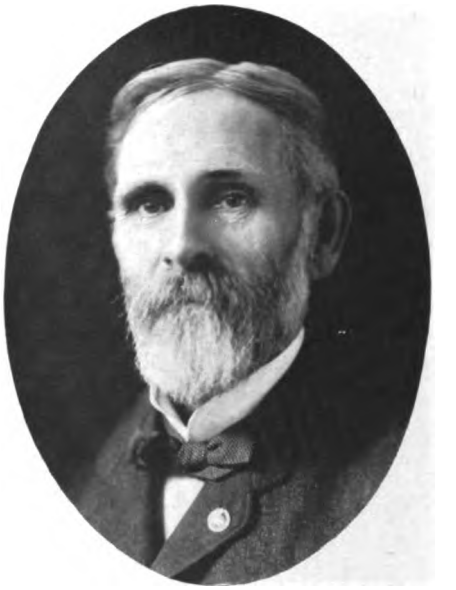

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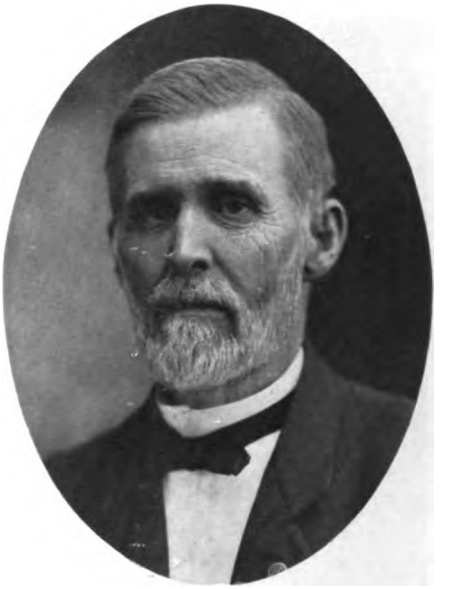

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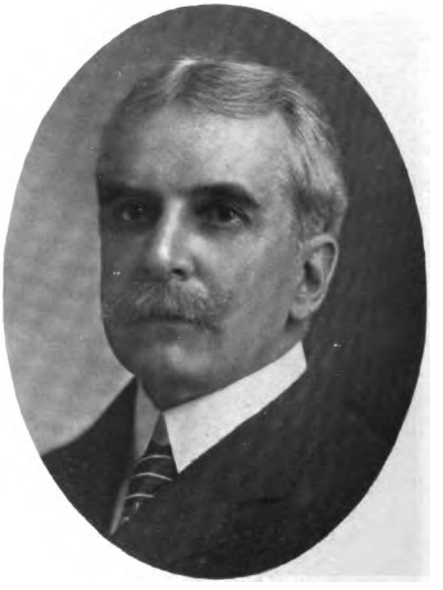

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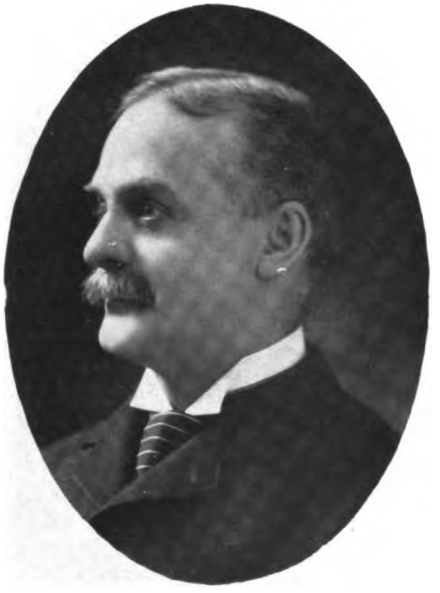

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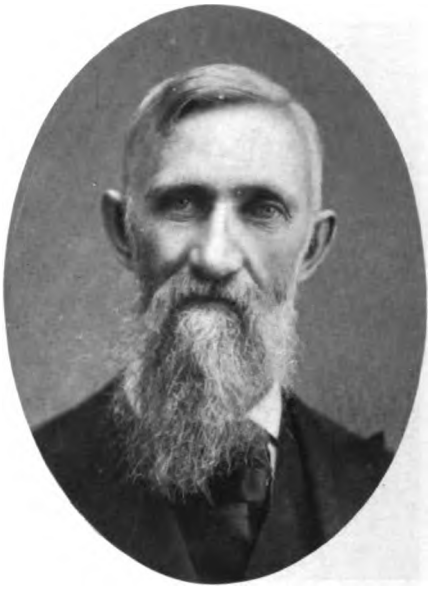

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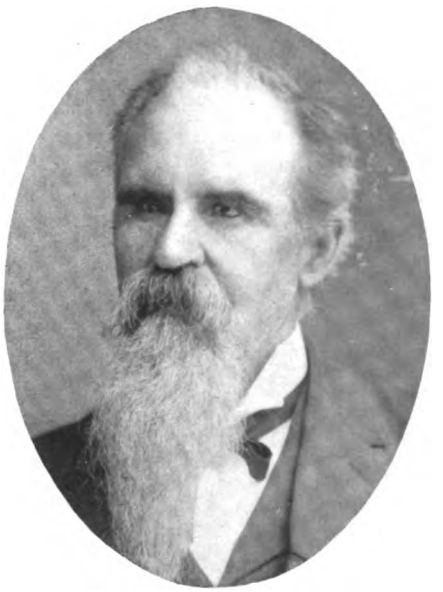

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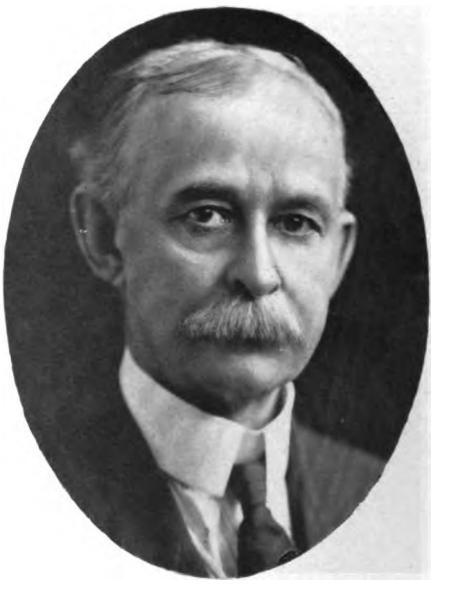

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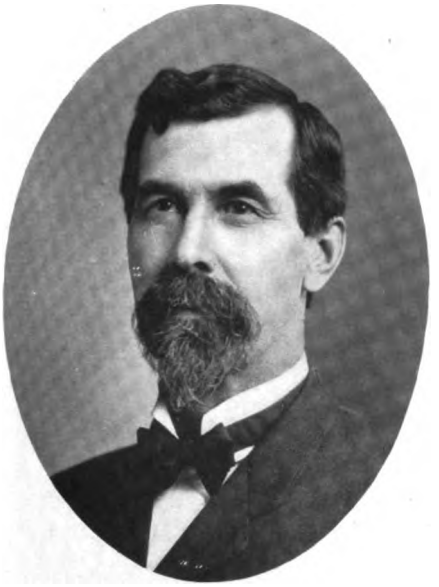

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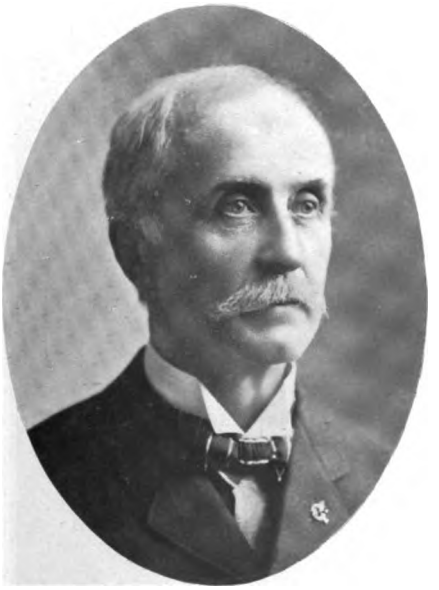

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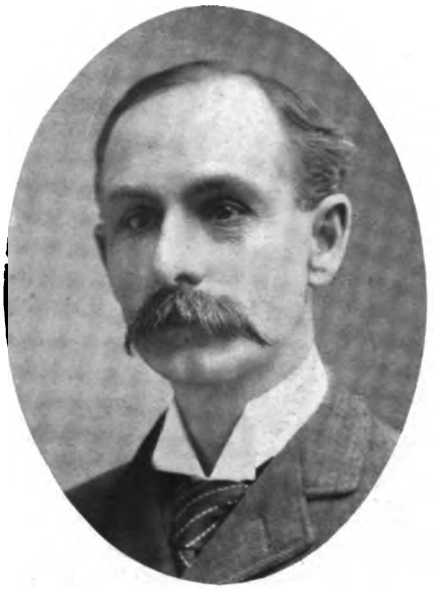

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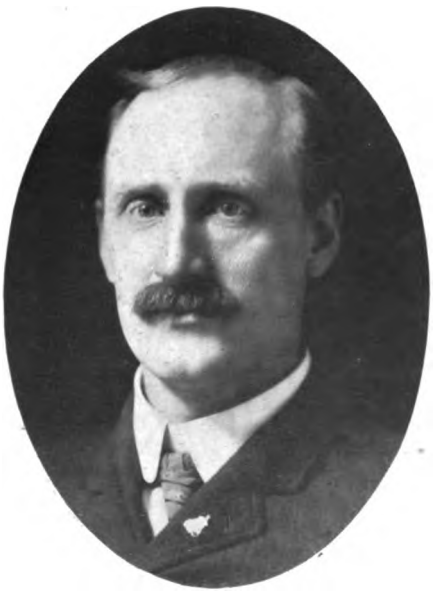

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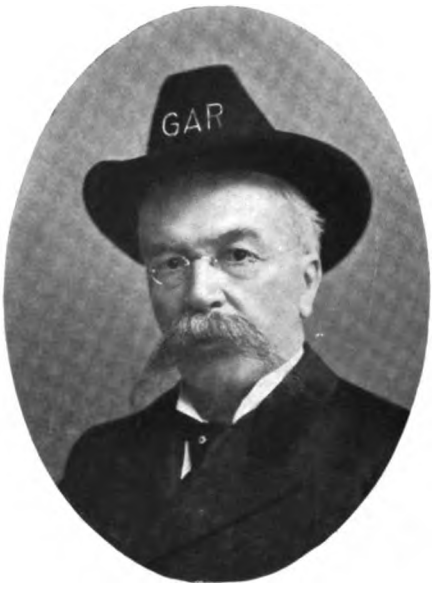

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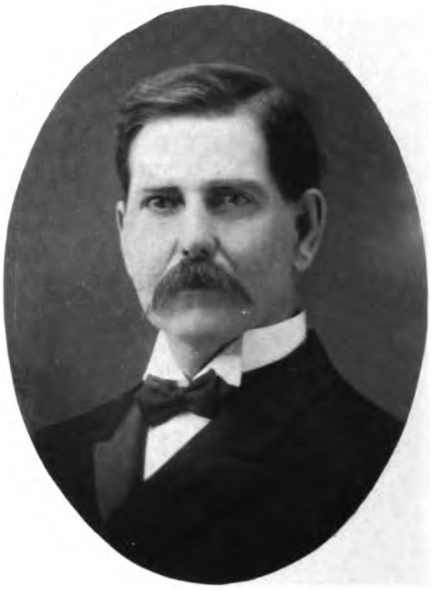

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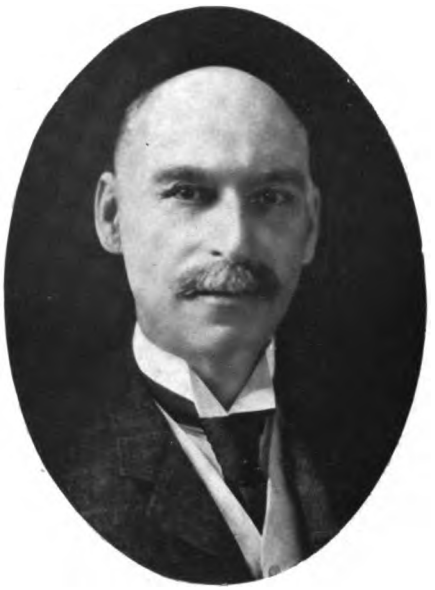

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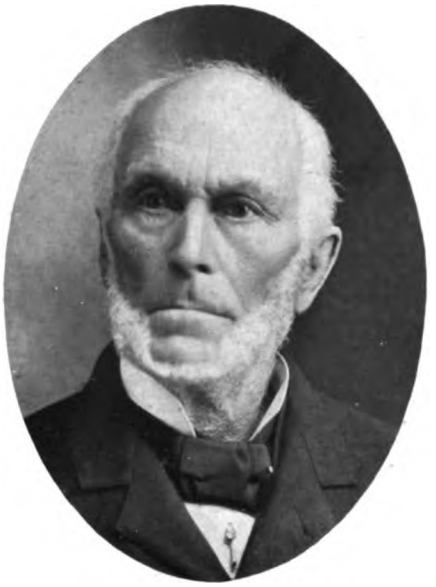

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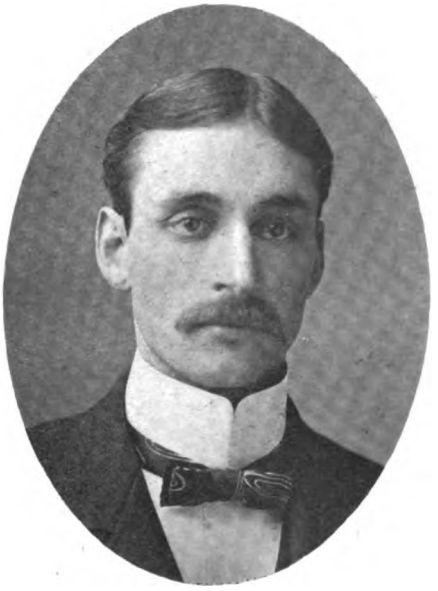

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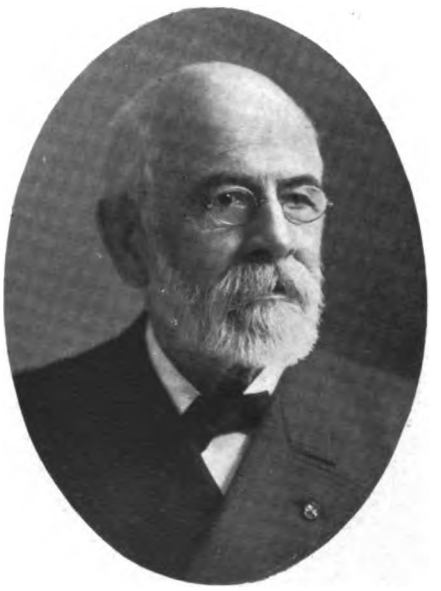

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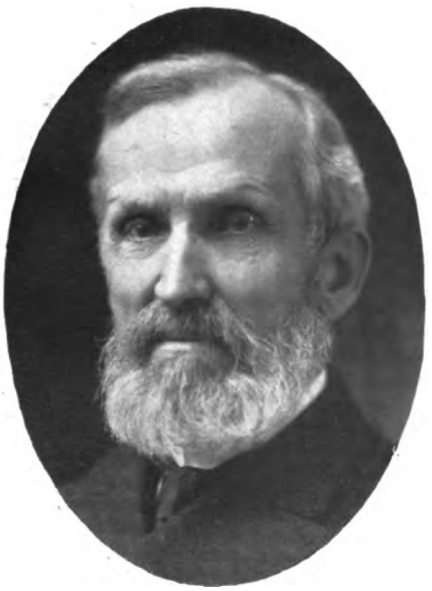

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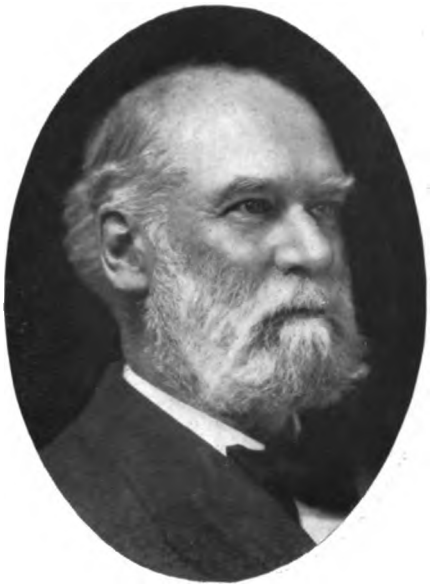

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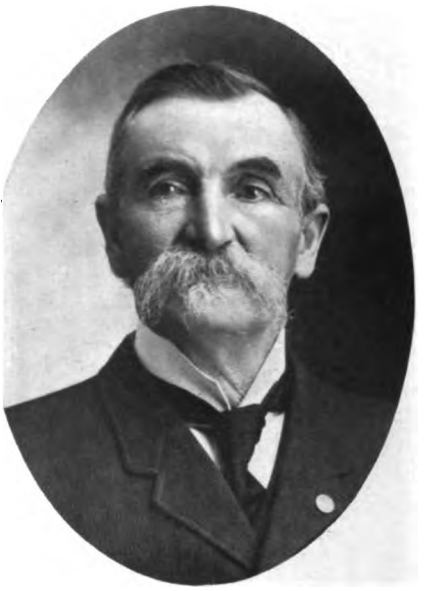

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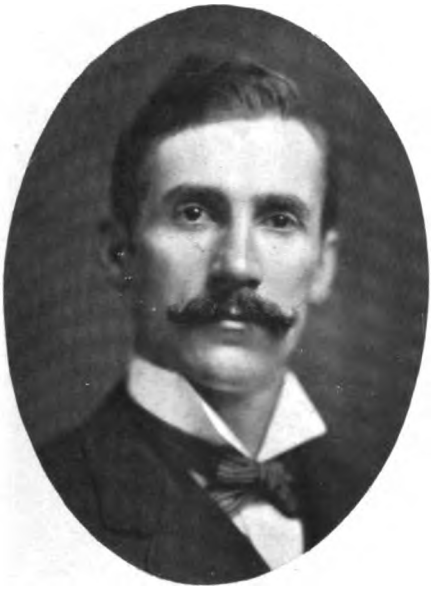

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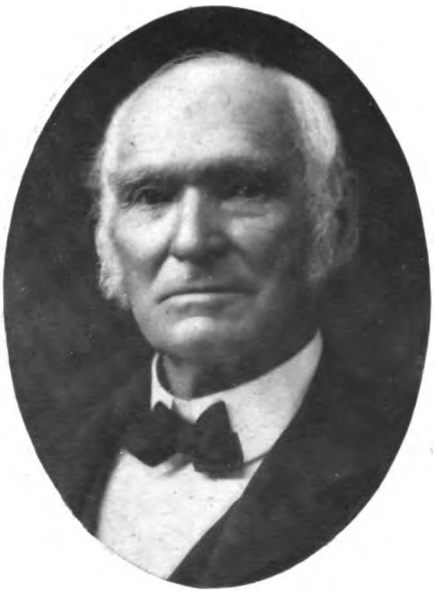

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